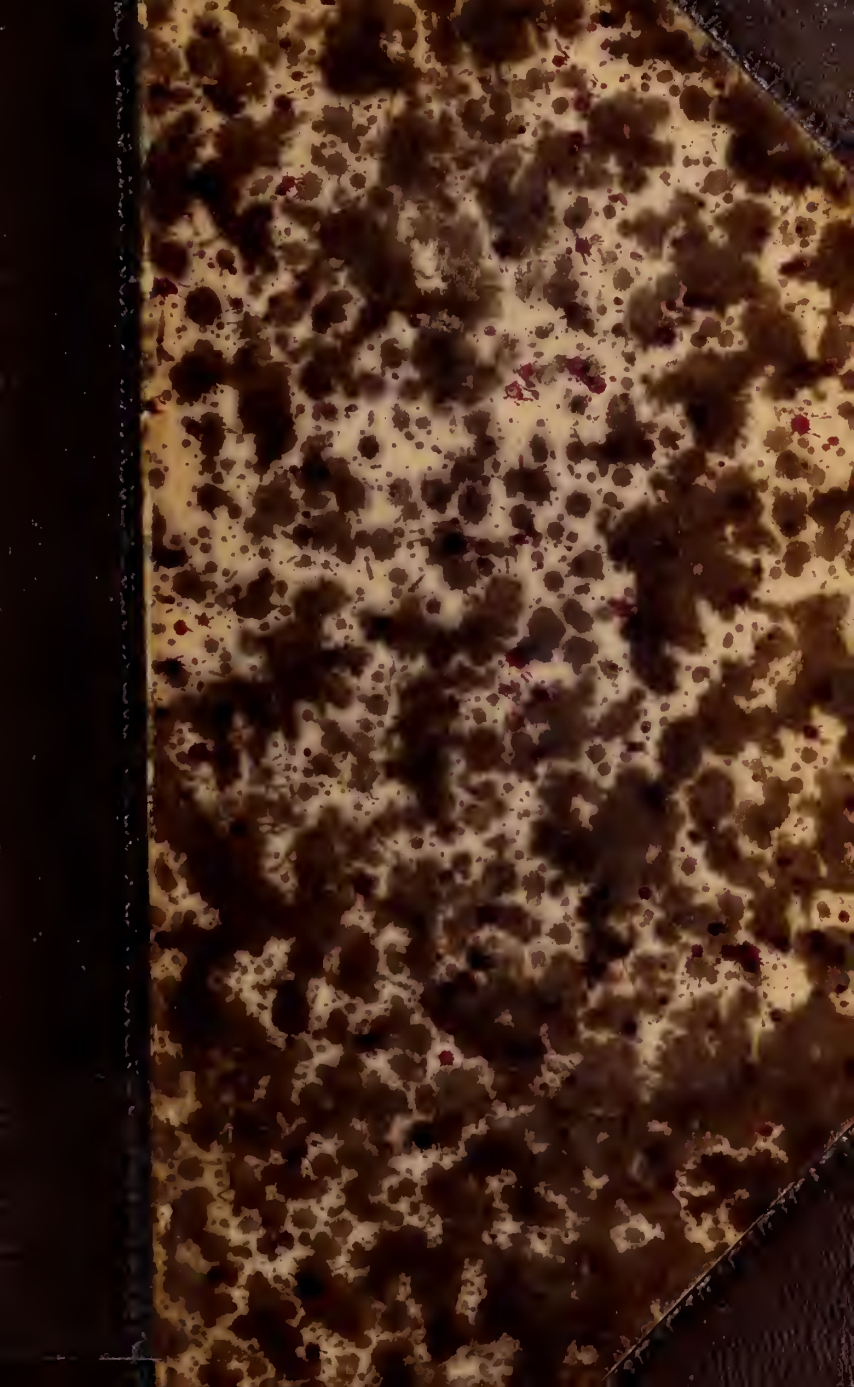

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THE WORKS

OF

JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

VOL. IV.

THE WORKS

OF

JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE,

SUMMARY OF EACH DISCOURSE, NOTES, &c.

BY THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.

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A

SERMON

PREACHED TO THE

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN,

SHOWING BY WHAT MEANS THE SCHOLARS SHALL BECOME MOST LEARNED AND MOST USEFUL.

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TO

THE READER.

PEACE is so great a blessing, and disputations and questions in religion are so little friends to peace, that I have thought no man's time can be better spent than in propositions and promotions of peace, and consequently in finding expedients, and putting periods to all contentious learning. I have already, in a Discourse before the Right Honorable the Lords and Commons assembled in this Parliament, proved that obedience is the best medium of peace and true religion; and laws are the only common term and certain rule and measure of it. *Vocata ad concionem multitudine, quæ coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re, præterquam legibus, poterat,* said Livy.* Obedience to man is the external instrument, and the best in the world. To which I now add, that obedience to God is the internal instrument; and I have proved it in this Discourse. Peace and holiness are twin sisters; after which because every man is bound to follow, and he that does not shall never see God, I concluded that the office of a bishop is in nothing so signally to be exhibited, as in declaring by what means these great duties and blessings are to be acquired. This way I have here described, is an old way; for it was Christ's way, and therefore it is truth and life; but it hath been so little regarded, and so seldom taught, that when I first spake my thoughts of it, in the following words, before the little, but excellent university of Dublin, they consented to it so perfectly, and so piously entertained it, that they were pleased, with some earnestness, to desire me to publish it to the world, and to consign it to them as a perpetual memorial of their duty, and of

* Lib. i. cap. 8.

my regards to them, and care over them in my station. I was very desirous to serve and please them in all their worthy desires, but had found so much reason to distrust my own abilities, that I could not resolve to do what I fain would have done, till by a second communication of those thoughts, though in differing words, I had published it also to my clergy, at the metropolitical visitation of the most Reverend and Learned Lord Primate of Armagh, in my own diocese. But when I found that they also thought it very reasonable and pious, and joined in the desire of making it public, I consented perfectly, and now only pray to God it may do that work which I intended. I have often thought of those excellent words of Mr. Hooker, in his very learned Discourse of Justification: "Such is the untoward constitution of our nature, that we do neither so perfectly understand the way and knowlege of the Lord, nor so stedfastly embrace it when it is understood, nor so graciously utter it when it is embraced, nor so peaceably maintain it when it is uttered, but that the best of us are overtaken, sometimes through blindness, sometimes through hastiness, sometimes through impatience, sometimes through other passions of the mind, whereunto (God knows) we are too subject." That I find by true experience; the best way of learning and peace, is that which cures all these evils, as far as in the world they are curable, and that is the ways of holiness, which are, therefore, the best and only way of truth. In disputations there is no end, and but very little advantage; but the way of godliness hath in it no error and no doubtfulness. By this, therefore, I hoped best to apply the counsel of the wise man: 'Stand thou fast in thy sure understanding, in the way and knowlege of the Lord, and have but one manner of word, and follow the word of peace and righteousness.'* I have reason to be confident that they who desired me to publish this Discourse, will make use of it, and find benefit by it: and if any others do so too, both they and I shall still more and more give God all thanks, and praise, and glory.

* Ecclus. v. 10. Vulg. Edit. Lat.

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SERMONS.

SUMMARY OF SERMON VI.

JOHN, CHAP. VII.—VERSE 17.

PRELIMINARY observations, on the peaceable nature of Christianity, and the folly or wickedness of quarrels and dissensions which men raise about it. Let us then go to Christ for the truth, and he will tell us an easy way of ending our quarrels; by 'doing the will of God.' First considerations on the ways which men have propounded to find out truth, on the foundation of which Christian peace might be established.

1. That there is but one true way, all are agreed on; and therefore almost every church, that lives under a government, proposes a collective body of articles, and calls this the true religion, &c.; but of this there can be no end, or agreement, &c.

2. Others recommend submission to an infallible guide; and this is the way of the Romish church: reasons against such a method urged.

3. Some wise men have undertaken to reconcile the differences of Christendom by a way of moderation and mutual concession: instances of proposers, and of synods held for this purpose: also causes of its failure.

4. Others endeavor to make the matter clear by plain state-

ments, and intelligible definitions, &c. This would be a good way, if all men were wise and considerate, &c.

5. As a last remedy, some good men have proposed a way of peace, rather than of truth; i. e. that all opinions should be tolerated, and none persecuted. Reasonableness of this rule stated: also the reasons which prevent the effects desired.

What then is to be done? Must truth be for ever in the dark, and the world for ever divided and disturbed? The wise Governor of the world has not here forsaken us; he has given us excellent directions. Observations on the question, 'What is truth?' and on our means of discovering it. As God is the author, so he is the teacher of truth; and the way to learn it, is to follow the words of the text.

In the handling of this text, it is considered, first, that the certain causes of our errors are nothing but direct sins, &c.: next, that holiness is the only way of truth and understanding.

1. No man understands the word of God, as it ought to be understood, unless he lays aside all affections to sin: for Aristotle himself observes, that "wickedness corrupts a man's reasoning:" it gives him false principles and measures of things: this topic enlarged on and illustrated.

2. He that means to understand the will of God and the truth of religion, must lay aside all inordinate affections to the world. Instance of the Jews, whose hearts were blinded by their hopes, which dwelt on secular advantages: this topic dilated on.

3. No man, how learned soever, can understand the word of God, or be at peace in the questions of religion, unless he be master of his passions: this also enlarged on. Thus it appears that our evil life is the cause of our quarrels and ignorance in religion. The right way of knowlege is next to be described. "Do God's will, and you shall understand his word."

1. In this inquiry, one thing must be taken for a *præcognitum*, that every good man is θεοδίδακτος, is "taught of God."

And therefore it naturally follows, that by how much nearer we are to God, by so much better we are likely to be instructed. This being supposed, we can easily proceed in the economy of this Divine philosophy: for,

2. There is, in every righteous man, a new vital principle; the Spirit of Grace is the Spirit of wisdom, and teaches us by secret inspiratious, by proper arguments, by actual persuasions, by personal applications, by effects and energies: and as the soul of a man is the cause of all his vital operations, so is the Spirit of God the life of that life, and the cause of all actions and productions spiritual: this topic fully enlarged on and illustrated.

3. Sometimes God gives to his choicest, his most elect and precious servants, a knowlege even of secret things, which he communicates not to others. Instance of Abraham, and of Daniel: this promised to be the lot of the righteous man in the days of the Messias.

4. A good life is the best way to understand wisdom and religion; because by the experiences and relishes of religion, there is conveyed to us a sweetness, to which all wicked men are strangers.

5. Lastly, there is a sort of God's dear servants, who walk in perfectness; who 'perfect holiness in the fear of God;' and they have a degree of clarity and divine knowlege more than we can discourse of, or conceive; and this is called by the Apostle, ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ Θεοῦ. Christ is this 'brightness of God,' manifested in the hearts of his dearest servants, &c. But that we may not dwell on things mysterious, how is it effected, that a holy life is the best determination of all questions, and the surest way of knowlege?

1. It is effected by holiness as a proper and natural instrument: for as the eye sees visible objects, and the understanding perceives intellectual objects, so does the Spirit perceive the things of the Spirit. 'The natural man knows not the things

of God; for they are spiritually discerned.' This topic enlarged on.

2. Holiness is not only an advantage in the learning of wisdom and righteousness, but in the discerning that which is wise and holy from what is trifling, useless, and contentious: to one of these heads all questions will return; and therefore, in all, we have from holiness the best instructions: this subject enlarged on.

3. Holiness of life is the best way of finding out truth and understanding; not only as a natural medium, nor only as a prudent medium, but as a means by way of Divine blessing. We have a promise of this in St. John's Gospel, ch. xiv. 21.; and on this we may rely: this subject considered at large.

4. When this is reduced to practice and experience, we find not only in things of practice, but even in deepest mysteries, that every good man can best tell what is true, and best reprove an error: this subject enlarged on.

Application of the doctrine of the text. It is a sure rule, if the holy man best understands wisdom and religion, then, by the proportions of holiness we shall best measure the doctrines that are obtruded on us. And therefore,

1. That is no good religion, whose principles destroy any duty of religion.

2. It is but a bad sign of holiness when a man is busy in troubling himself and his superiors in little scruples and fantastic notions about things which do not concern the life of religion, or the pleasure of God, &c.

3. That is no good religion that disturbs governments, or shakes the foundation of public peace.

Concluding exhortations, to such as are, or intend to be, of the clerical order: that they see here the best compendium of their studies, the truest method of wisdom, and the only infallible way of judging concerning the disputes or questions of the Christian church.

SERMON VI.

VIA INTELLIGENTIÆ.

JOHN, CHAP. VII.—VERSE 17.

If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself.

THE ancients, in their mythological learning, tell us, that when Jupiter espied the men of the world striving for Truth, and pulling her in pieces to secure her to themselves, he sent Mercury down amongst them; and he, with his usual arts, dressed Error up in the imagery of Truth, and thrust her into the crowd, and so left them to contend still: and though then, by contention, men were sure to get but little truth, yet they were as earnest as ever, and lost peace too, in their importune contentions for the very image of truth. And this, indeed, is no wonder; but when truth and peace are brought into the world together, and bound up in the same bundle of life; when we are taught a religion by the Prince of peace, who is the truth itself; to see men contending for this truth, to the breach of that peace; and when men fall out, to see that they should make Christianity their theme, that is one of the greatest wonders in the world. For Christianity is ἥμερος καὶ φιλάνθρωπος νομοθεσία, "a soft and gentle institution;" ὑγρὸν καὶ μείλιχον ἦθος: it was brought into the world to soften the asperities of human nature, and to cure the barbarities of evil men, and the contentions of the passionate. The eagle, seeing her breast wounded, and espying the arrow that hurt her, to be feathered, cried out, Πτερόν με τὸν πτερωτὸν ὀλλύει, "The feathered nation is destroyed by their own feathers;" that is, a Christian fighting

and wrangling with a Christian; and, indeed, that is very sad: but wrangling about peace too, that peace itself should be the argument of a war, that is unnatural: and if it were not that there are many who are *homines multæ religionis, nullius pœne pietatis,* "men of much religion and little godliness,"—it would not be that there should be so many quarrels in and concerning that religion, which is wholly made up of truth and peace, and was sent amongst us to reconcile the hearts of men, when they were tempted to uncharitableness by any other unhappy argument. Disputation cures no vice, but kindles a great many, and makes passion evaporate into sin: and though men esteem it learning, yet it is the most useless learning in the world. When Eudamidas, the son of Archidamus, heard old Xenocrates disputing about wisdom, he asked very soberly, "If the old man be yet disputing and inquiring concerning wisdom, what time will he have to make use of it?" Christianity is all for practice; and so much time as is spent in quarrels about it, is a diminution to its interest. Men inquire so much what it is, that they have but little time left to be Christians. I remember a saying of Erasmus, "that when he first read the New Testament, with fear and a good mind, with a purpose to understand it and obey it, he found it very pleasant; but when, afterwards, he fell on reading the vast differences of commentaries, then he understood it less than he did before, then he began not to understand it:" for, indeed, the truths of God are best dressed in the plain culture and simplicity of the Spirit; but the truths that men commonly teach, are like the reflections of a multiplying-glass; for one piece of good money, you shall have forty that are fantastical; and it is forty to one if your finger hit on the right. Men have wearied themselves in the dark, having been amused with false fires; and instead of going home, have wandered all night ἐν ὁδοῖς ἀβάτοις, "in untrodden, unsafe, uneasy ways;" but have not found out what their soul desires. But, therefore, since we are so miserable, and are in error, and have wandered very far, we must do as wandering travellers use to do, go back just to that place from whence they wandered, and begin on a new account. Let us go to the truth itself, to Christ; and he will tell us an easy way of ending all our quarrels: for we shall find Christianity to be the

easiest and the hardest thing in the world: it is like a secret in arithmetic, infinitely hard till it be found out by a right operation; and then it is so plain, we wonder we did not understand it earlier.

Christ's way of finding out of truth, is by 'doing the will of God.' We will try that by and by, if possibly we may find that easy and certain: in the mean time, let us consider what ways men have propounded to find out truth, and on the foundation of that to establish peace in Christendom.

1. That there is but one true way, is agreed on; and therefore almost every church of one denomination that lives under government, propounds to you a system or collective body of articles, and tells you that is the true religion, and they are the church, and the peculiar people of God; like Brutus and Cassius, of whom one says, *Ubicunque ipsi essent, prætexebant esse rempublicam,* "They supposed themselves were the commonwealth;" and these are the church, and out of this church they will hardly allow salvation: but of this there can be no end; for divide the church into twenty parts, and in what part soever your lot falls, you and your party are damned by the other nineteen; and men on all hands almost keep their own proselytes by affrighting them with the fearful sermons of damnation: but, in the mean time, here is no security to them, that are not able to judge for themselves, and no peace for them that are.

2. Others cast about to cure this evil, and conclude that it must be done by submission to an infallible guide; this must do it or nothing; and this is the way of the church of Rome; follow but the pope and his clergy, and you are safe, at least as safe as their warrant can make you. Indeed, this were a very good way, if it were a way at all; but it is none; for this can never end our controversies: not only because the greatest controversies are about this infallible guide; but also because, 1. We cannot find that there is, on earth, any such guide at all. 2. We do not find it necessary that there should. 3. We find that they who pretend to be this infallible guide, are themselves infinitely deceived. 4. That they do not believe themselves to be infallible, whatever they say to us; because they do not put an end to all their own questions, that trouble them. 5. Because they have no peace, but what is constrained by force and

government. 6. And lastly, because if there were such a guide, we should fail of truth by many other causes: for, it may be, that guide would not do his duty; or we are fallible followers of this infallible leader; or we should not understand his meaning at all times, or we should be perverse at some times, or something as bad; because we all confess, that God is an infallible guide, and that some way or other he does teach us sufficiently, and yet it does come to pass, by our faults, that we are as far to seek for peace and truth as ever.

3. Some very wise men, finding this to fail, have undertaken to reconcile the differences of Christendom by a way of moderation. Thus they have projected to reconcile the papists and the Lutherans, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, the remonstrants and contra-remonstrants, and project, that each side should abate of their asperities, and pare away something of their propositions, and join in common terms and phrases of accommodation,—each of them sparing something, and promising they shall have a great deal of peace for the exchange of a little of their opinion. This was the way of Cassander, Modrevius, Andreas Frisius, Erasmus, Spalato, Grotius, and, indeed, of Charles the Fifth, in part, but something more heartily of Ferdinand the Second. This device produced the conferences at Poissy, at Montpelier, at Ratisbon, at the Hague, at many places more: and what was the event of these? Their parties, when their delegates returned, either disclaimed their moderation,—or their respective princes had some other ends to serve, —or they permitted the meetings on uncertain hopes, and a trial if any good might come; or, it may be, they were both in the wrong, and their mutual abatement was nothing but a mutual quitting of what they could not get, and the shaking hands of false friends; or, it may be, it was all of it nothing but hypocrisy and arts of craftiness, and, like Lucian's man, every one could be a man and a pestle when he pleased. And the Council of Trent, though under another cover, made use of the artifice, but made the secret manifest and common: for at this day the Jesuits, in the questions *de auxiliis Divinæ gratiæ*, have prevailed with the Dominicans to use their expressions, and yet they think they still keep the sentence of their own order. From hence can succeed nothing but folly and a fantastic peace: this

is but the skinning of an old sore; it will break out on all occasions.

4. Others, who understand things beyond the common rate, observing that many of our controversies and peevish wranglings are kept up by the ill stating of the question, endeavor to declare things wisely, and make the matter intelligible, and the words clear; hoping, by this means, to cut off all disputes. Indeed this is a very good way, so far as it can go; and would prevail very much, if all men were wise, and would consent to those statings, and would not fall out on the main inquiry, when it were well stated: but we find, by a sad experience, that few questions are well stated; and when they are, they are not consented to; and when they are agreed on by both sides that they are well stated, it is nothing else but a drawing up the armies in battalia with great skill and discipline; the next thing they do is, they thrust their swords into one another's sides.

5. What remedy after all this? Some other good men have propounded one way yet; but that is a way of peace, rather than truth; and that is, that all opinions should be tolerated, and none persecuted, and then all the world will be at peace. Indeed, this relies on a great reasonableness; not only because opinions cannot be forced, but because if men receive no hurt, it is to be hoped they will do none. But we find that this alone will not do it; for besides that all men are not so just as not to do any injury,—for some men begin the evil; besides this, I say, there are very many men amongst us, who are not content that you permit them; for they will not permit you, but 'rule over your faith,' and say that their way is not only true, but necessary; and therefore the truth of God is at stake, and all indifference and moderation is carnal wisdom, and want of zeal for God; nay, more than so, they preach for toleration when themselves are under the rod, who, when they got the rod into their own hands, thought toleration itself to be intolerable. Thus do the papists, and thus the Calvinists; and, for their cruelty, they pretend charity. They will, indeed, force you to come in, but it is in true zeal for your soul; and if they do you violence, it is no more than if they pull your arm out of joint, when, to save you from drowning, they draw you

out of a river; and if you complain, it is no more to be regarded than the outcries of children against their rulers, or sick men against physicians. But as to the thing itself, the truth is, it is better in contemplation than practice; for reckon all that is got by it, when you come to handle it, and it can never satisfy for the infinite disorders happening in the government; the scandal to religion, the secret dangers to public societies, the growth of heresy, the nursing up of parties to a grandeur so considerable, as to be able, in their own time, to change the laws and the government. So that if the question be, whether mere opinions are to be persecuted,—it is certainly true, they ought not. But if it be considered how, by opinions, men rifle the affairs of kingdoms, it is also as certain, they ought not to be made public and permitted. And what is now to be done? Must truth for ever be in the dark, and the world for ever be divided, and societies disturbed, and governments weakened, and our spirits debauched with error, and the uncertain opinions and the pedantry of talking men? Certainly there is no way to cure all this evil; and the wise Governor of all the world hath not been wanting in so necessary a matter as to lead us into all truth. But the way hath not yet been hit on, and yet I have told you all the ways of man, and his imaginations, in order to truth and peace: and you see these will not do; we can find no rest for the soles of our feet, amidst all the waters of contention and disputations, and little artifices of divided schools. 'Every man is a liar,' and his understanding is weak, and his propositions uncertain, and his opinions trifling, and his contrivances imperfect, and neither truth nor peace does come from man. I know I am in an auditory of inquisitive persons, whose business is to study for truth, that they may find it for themselves, and teach it unto others. I am in a school of prophets and prophets' sons, who all ask Pilate's question, 'What is truth?' You look for it in your books, and you tug hard for it in your disputations, and you derive it from the cisterns of the fathers, and you inquire after the old ways, and sometimes are taken with new appearances, and you rejoice in false lights, or are delighted with little umbrages and peep of day. But where is there a man, or a society of men, that can be at rest in his inquiry, and is sure he understands all the

truths of God? Where is there a man, but the more he studies and inquires, still he discovers nothing so clearly as his own ignorance? This is a demonstration that we are not in the right way, that we do not inquire wisely, that our method is not artificial. If men did fall on the right way, it were impossible so many learned men should be engaged in contrary parties and opinions. We have examined all ways but one, all but God's way. Let us, having missed in all the other, try this; let us go to God for truth; for truth comes from God only, and his ways are plain, and his sayings are true, and his promises 'Yea and Amen;' and if we miss the truth, it is because we will not find it; for certain it is, that all that truth which God hath made necessary, he hath also made legible and plain; and if we will open our eyes, we shall see the sun; and if 'we will walk in the light, we shall rejoice in the light;' only let us withdraw the curtains, let us remove the 'impediments, and the sin that doth so easily beset us;' that is God's way. Every man must, in his station, do that portion of duty which God requires of him, and then he shall be taught of God all that is fit for him to learn. There is no other way for him but this. 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and a good understanding have all they that do thereafter.'* And so said David of himself, 'I have more understanding than my teachers; because I keep thy commandments.'† And this is the only way which Christ hath taught us. If you ask, 'What is truth?' you must not do as Pilate did—ask the question, and then go away from him that only can give you an answer; for as God is the author of truth, so is he the teacher of it; and the way to learn it is this of my text: for so saith our blessed Lord, 'If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God or no.'

My text is simple as truth itself, but greatly comprehensive, and contains a truth that alone will enable you to understand all mysteries, and to expound all prophecies, and to interpret all scriptures, and to search into all secrets; all, I mean, which concern our happiness and our duty: and, it being an affirmative hypothetical, is plainly to be resolved into this propo-

* Ps. cxi. 10. † Ps. cxix.

sition,—"The way to judge of religion is by doing of our duty: and theology is rather a Divine life than a Divine knowlege." In heaven, indeed, we shall first see, and then love; but here on earth, we must first love, and love will open our eyes as well as our hearts; and we shall then see, and perceive, and understand.

In the handling of which proposition, I shall first represent to you, that—the certain causes of our errors are nothing but direct sins,—nothing makes us fools and ignorants but living vicious lives; and then I shall proceed to the direct demonstration of the article in question, that—holiness is the only way of truth and understanding.

1. No man understands the word of God, as it ought to be understood, unless he lays aside all affections to sin: of which because we have taken very little care, the product hath been, that we have had very little wisdom, and very little knowlege, in the ways of God. Κακία ἐστὶ φθαρτικὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς, said Aristotle; "Wickedness does corrupt a man's reasoning;" it gives him false principles and evil measures of things; the sweet wine that Ulysses gave to the Cyclops, put his eye out; and a man that hath contracted evil affections, and made a league with sin, sees only by those measures. A covetous man understands nothing to be good that is not profitable; and a voluptuous man likes your reasoning well enough, if you discourse of *bonum jucundum*, the pleasures of the sense, the ravishments of lust, the noises and inadvertencies, the mirth and songs of merry company; but if you talk to him of the melancholy lectures of the cross, the content of resignation, the peace of meekness, and the joys of the Holy Ghost, and of rest in God, after your long discourse, and his great silence, he cries out, "What is the matter?" He knows not what you mean. Either you must fit his humor, or change your discourse.

I remember that Arrian tells of a gentleman that was banished from Rome, and in his sorrow visited the philosopher, and he heard him talk wisely, and believed him, and promised him to leave all the thoughts of Rome, and splendors of the court, and retire to the course of a severe philosophy; but before the good man's lectures were done, there came πινακίδες ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, "letters from Cæsar," to recall him home,

to give him pardon, and promise him great employment. He presently grew weary of the good man's sermon, and wished he would make an end, thought his discourse was dull and flat; for his head and heart were full of another story and new principles; and by these measures he could hear only, and he could understand.*

Every man understands by his affections more than by his reason: and when the wolf in the fable went to school to learn to spell, whatever letters were told him, he could never make any thing of them but *agnus;* he thought of nothing but his belly: and if a man be very hungry, you must give him meat before you give him counsel. A man's mind must be like your proposition, before it can be entertained; for whatever you put into a man, it will smell of the vessel: it is a man's mind that gives the emphasis, and makes your argument to prevail.

And on this account it is, that there are so many false doctrines in the only article of repentance. Men know they must repent, but the definition of repentance they take from the convenience of their own affairs: what they will not part with, that is not necessary to be parted with; and they will repent, not restore: they will say *Nollem factum*, "they wish they had never done it;" but since it is done, you must give them leave to rejoice in their purchase: they will ask forgiveness of God; but they sooner forgive themselves, and suppose that God is of their mind: if you tie them to hard terms, your doctrine is not to be understood: or it is but one doctor's opinion,—and, therefore, they will fairly take their leave, and get them another teacher.

What makes these evil, these dangerous and desperate doctrines? Not the obscurity of the thing, but the cloud on the heart; for say you what you will, he that hears must be the expounder, and we can never suppose but a man will give sentence in behalf of what he passionately loves. And so it comes to pass, that, as Rabbi Moses observed, God, for the greatest sin, imposed the least oblation, as a she-goat for the sin of idolatry; for a woman accused of idolatry, a barley cake: so do most men; they think to expiate the worst of their sins with a

* Upton, vol. i. p. 60.

trifling, with a pretended, little, insignificant repentance. God, indeed, did so, that the cheapness of the oblation might teach them to hope for pardon, not from the ceremony, but from a severe internal repentance: but men take any argument to lessen their repentance, that they may not lessen their pleasures or their estates,—and that repentance may be nothing but a word,—and mortification signify nothing against their pleasures, but be a term of art only, fitted for the schools or for the pulpit,—but nothing relative to practice, or the extermination of their sin. So that it is no wonder we understand so little of religion: it is because we are in love with that which destroys it; and as a man does not care to hear what does not please him, so neither does he believe it; he cannot, he will not understand it.

And the same is the case in the matter of pride; the church hath extremely suffered by it in many ages. Arius missed a bishopric, and, therefore, turned heretic; ἐτάρασσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, saith the story; "he disturbed and shaked the church;" for he did not understand this truth,—that the peace of the church was better than the satisfaction of his person, or the promoting his foolish opinion. And do not we see and feel, that, at this very day, the pride of men makes it seem impossible for many persons to obey their superiors? and they do not see what they can read every day, that it is a sin 'to speak evil of dignities.'

A man would think it a very easy thing to understand the thirteenth chapter to the Romans, 'Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God:' and yet we know a generation of men, to whom these words were so obscure, that they thought it lawful to fight against their king. A man would think it easy to believe, that those who were 'in the gainsaying of Korah,' who rose up against the high priest, were in a very sad condition: and yet there are too many amongst us, who are in the gainsaying of Korah, and think they do very well; that they are the godly party, and the good people of God. Why? What is the matter? In the world there can be nothing plainer than these words 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers;' and that you need not make a scruple who are these higher powers, it is as plainly said, 'There is no power but of God;' all that are set over you by the laws of your nation,

these 'are over you in the Lord:' and yet men will not understand these plain things; they deny to do their notorious duty, and yet believe they are in the right; and if they sometimes obey 'for wrath,' they oftener disobey for 'conscience sake.' Where is the fault? The words are plain, the duty is certain, the book lies open; but, alas! 'it is sealed within,' that is, 'men have eyes and will not see, ears and will not hear.' But the wonder is the less; for we know when God said to Jonah, 'Doest thou well to be angry?' he answered God to his face, 'I do well to be angry even unto the death.' Let God declare his mind never so plainly, if men will not lay aside the evil principle that is within, their open love to their secret sin, they may kill an Apostle, and yet be so ignorant as to 'think they do God good service;' they may disturb kingdoms, and break the peace of a well-ordered church, and rise up against their fathers, and be cruel to their brethren, and stir up the people to sedition; and all this with a cold stomach and a hot liver, with a hard heart and a tender conscience, with humble carriage and a proud spirit. For thus men hate repentance, because they scorn to confess an error; they will not return to peace and truth, because they fear to lose the good opinion of the people, whom themselves have cozened; they are afraid to be good, lest they should confess they have formerly done amiss: and he, that observes how much evil is done, and how many heresies are risen, and how much obstinacy and unreasonable perseverance in folly dwells in the world on the stock of pride,—may easily conclude, that no learning is sufficient to make a proud man understand the truth of God, unless he first learn to be humble. But *Obedite et intelligetis*, saith the prophet; 'Obey,' and be humble; leave the foolish affections of sin, 'and then ye shall understand.' That is the first particular: all remaining affections to sin hinder the learning and understanding of the things of God.

2. He that means to understand the will of God and the truth of religion, must lay aside all inordinate affections to the world. St. Paul complained that there was at 'that day a veil on the hearts of the Jews, in the reading of the Old Testament;'* they looked for a temporal prince to be their Messias, and their

* 2 Cor. iii. 14.

affections and hopes dwelt in secular advantages; and so long as that veil was there, they could not see, and they would not accept, the poor, despised Jesus.

For the things of the world, besides that they entangle one another, and make much business, and spend much time, they also take up the attentions of a man's mind, and spend his faculties, and make them trifling and secular with the very handling and conversation. And therefore the Pythagoreans taught their disciples χωρισμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, εἰς τὸ καλῶς φιλοσοφεῖν, "a separation from the things of the body, if they would purely find out truth and the excellencies of wisdom." Had not he lost his labor, that would have discoursed wisely to Apicius, and told him of the books of fate and the secrets of the other world, the abstractions of the soul, and its brisker immortality, that saints and angels eat not, and that the spirit of a man lives for ever on wisdom, and holiness, and contemplation? The fat glutton would have stared awhile on the preacher, and then have fallen asleep. But if you had discoursed well and knowingly of a lamprey, a large mullet, or a boar, *animal propter convivia natum*, and have sent him a cook from Asia to make new sauces, he would have attended carefully, and taken in your discourses greedily. And so it is in the questions and secrets of Christianity; which made St. Paul, when he intended to convert Felix, discourse first with him about 'temperance, righteousness, and judgment to come.' He began in the right point; he knew it was to no purpose to preach Jesus Christ crucified to an intemperate person, to a usurper of other men's rights, to one whose soul dwelt in the world, and cared not for the sentence of the last day. The philosophers began their wisdom with the meditation of death, and St. Paul his with the discourse of the day of judgment; to take the heart off from this world and the amabilities of it, which dishonor and baffle the understanding, and made Solomon himself become a child, and fooled into idolatry, by the prettiness of a talking woman. Men, now-a-days, love not a religion that will cost them dear. If your doctrine calls on men to part with any considerable part of their estates, you must pardon them if they cannot believe you; they understand it not. I shall give you one great instance of it.

When we consider the infinite unreasonableness that is in the popish religion, how against common sense their doctrine of transubstantiation is, how against the common experience of human nature is the doctrine of the pope's infallibility, how against Scripture is the doctrine of indulgences and purgatory; we may well think it a wonder, that no more men are persuaded to leave such unlearned follies. But then, on the other side, the wonder will cease, if we mark how many temporal ends are served by these doctrines. If you destroy the doctrine of purgatory and indulgences, you take away the priest's income, and make the see apostolic to be poor; if you deny the pope's infallibility, you will despise his authority, and examine his propositions, and discover his failing, and put him to answer hard arguments, and lessen his power: and, indeed, when we run through all the propositions of difference between them and us, and see that, in every one of them, they serve an end of money or of power; it will be very visible that the way to confute them is not by learned disputations,—for we see they have been too long without effect, and without prosperity: the men must be cured of their affections to the world, *ut nudi nudum sequantur crucifixum*, "that with naked and divested affections they might follow the naked crucified Jesus;" and then they would soon learn the truths of God, which, till then, will be impossible to be apprehended. Ἐν προσποιήσει ἐξηγήσεως τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρεισάγουσιν, "Men," as St. Basil says, "when they expound Scripture, always bring in something of themselves:" but till there be, as one said, ἀνάβασις ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου, "a rising out" from their own seats, until they go out "from their dark dungeons," they can never see the light of heaven. And how many men are there amongst us, who are, therefore, enemies to the religion, because it seems to be against their profit? The argument of Demetrius is unanswerable: 'By this craft they get their livings:' leave them in their livings, and they will let your religion alone; if not, they think they have reason to speak against it. When men's souls are possessed with the world, their souls cannot be invested with holy truths. Χρὴ ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ψυχοῦσθαι, as St. Isidore said: "The soul must be" informed, "ensouled," or animated with the propositions that you put in; or you shall

never do any good, or get disciples to Christ. Now because a man cannot serve two masters; because he cannot vigorously attend two objects; because there can be but one soul in any living creature; if the world have got possession, talk no more of your questions, shut your bibles, and read no more of the words of God to them, for they cannot tell of 'the doctrine, whether it be of God, or of the world.' That is the second particular: worldly affections hinder true understandings in religion.

3. No man, how learned soever, can understand the word of God, or be at peace in the questions of religion, unless he be a master over his passions:

> Tu quoque si vis lumine claro
> Cernere verum, gaudia pelle,
> Pelle timorem: nubila mens est
> Vinctaque frænis, hæc ubi regnant,

said the wise Boethius; a man must first learn himself before he can learn God. *Tua te fallit imago:* nothing deceives a man so soon as a man's self; when a man is (that I may use Plato's expression) *συμπεφυρμένος τῇ γενέσει*, "mingled with his nature," and his congenial infirmities of anger and desire, he can never have any thing but *ἀμυδρὸν δόξαν*, "a knowlege partly moral and partly natural:" his whole life is but imagination; his knowlege is inclination and opinion; he judges of heavenly things by the measures of his fears and his desires; and his reason is half of it sense, and determinable by the principles of sense. *Εὖγε ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖς ἐν πάθεσι*, then "a man learns well, when he is a philosopher in his passions."* Passionate men are to be taught the first elements of religion; and let men pretend to as much learning as they please, they must begin again at Christ's cross; they must learn true mortification and crucifixion of their anger and desires, before they can be good scholars in Christ's school,—or be admitted into the more secret inquiries of religion,—or profit in spiritual understanding. It was an excellent proverb of the Jews, *In passionibus Spiritus Sanctus non habitat*, "The Holy Ghost

* Nazianz. ad Philagrium.

never dwells in the house of passion." Truth enters into the heart of man, when it is empty, and clean, and still; but when the mind is shaken with passion as with a storm, you can never hear the 'voice of the charmer, though he charm very wisely:' and you will very hardly sheathe a sword, when it is held by a loose and a paralytic arm. He that means to learn the secrets of God's wisdom, must be, as Plato says, *τὴν λογικὴν ζωὴν οὐσιωμένος*, "his soul must be consubstantiated with reason," not invested with passion: to him that is otherwise, things are but in the dark, his notion is obscure, and his sight troubled; and, therefore, though we often meet with passionate fools, yet we seldom or never hear of a very passionate wise man.

I have now done with the first part of my undertaking, and proved to you that our evil life is the cause of our controversies and ignorances in religion and of the things of God. You see what hinders us from becoming good divines. But all this while, we are but in the preparation to the mysteries of godliness: when we have thrown off all affections to sin, when we have stripped ourselves from all fond adherences to the things of the world, and have broken the chains and dominion of our passions; then we may say with David, *Ecce paratum est cor meum, Deus;* 'My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready:' then we may say, 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth:' but we are not yet instructed. It remains, therefore, that we inquire what is that immediate principle or means, by which we shall certainly and infallibly be let into all truth, and be taught the mind of God, and understand all his secrets; and this is worth our knowlege. I cannot say that this will end your labors, and put a period to your studies, and make your learning easy: it may possibly increase your labor, but it will make it profitable; it will not end your studies, but it will direct them; it will not make human learning easy, but it will make it 'wise unto salvation,' and conduct it into true notices and ways of wisdom.

I am now to describe to you the right way of knowlege. *Qui facit voluntatem Patris mei*, saith Christ; that is the way; do God's will, and you shall understand God's word. And it was an excellent saying of St. Peter, 'Add to your faith

virtue,'* &c. 'If these things be in you and abound, ye shall not be unfruitful in the knowlege of our Lord Jesus Christ.' For in this case, it is not enough that all our hinderances of knowlege are removed; for that is but the opening of the covering of the book of God; but when it is opened, it is written with a hand that every eye cannot read. Though the windows of the east be open, yet every eye cannot behold the glories of the sun: Ὀφθαλμὸς μὴ ἡλιοειδὴς γινόμενος ἥλιον οὐ βλέπει, saith Plotinus: "The eye that is not made solar, cannot see the sun;"—the eye must be fitted to the splendor; and it is not the wit of the man, but the spirit of the man; not so much his head as his heart, that learns the Divine philosophy.

1. Now, in this inquiry, I must take one thing for a *præcognitum*, that every good man is θεοδίδακτος, he is "taught of God:" and, indeed, unless he teach us, we shall make but ill scholars ourselves, and worse guides to others. *Nemo potest Deum scire, nisi a Deo doceatur*, said St. Irenæus.† If God teaches us, then all is well; but if we do not learn wisdom at his feet, from whence should we have it? it can come from no other spring. And, therefore, it naturally follows, that by how much nearer we are to God, by so much better we are like to be instructed.

But this being supposed, as being most evident, we can easily proceed, by wonderful degrees and steps of progression, in the economy of this Divine philosophy: For,

2. There is, in every righteous man, a new vital principle; the Spirit of grace is the Spirit of wisdom, and teaches us by secret inspirations, by proper arguments, by actual persuasions, by personal applications, by effects and energies: and as the soul of a man is the cause of all his vital operations, so is the Spirit of God the life of that life, and the cause of all actions and productions spiritual: and the consequence of this is what St. John tells us of, 'Ye have received the unction from above, and that anointing teacheth you all things:'‡ *All things* of some one kind; that is, certainly,—all things that pertain to life and godliness;—all that by which a man is wise and happy.

* 2 Pet. i. 5. † Lib. vi. cap. 13. ‡ 1 John, ii. 27.

We see this by common experience. Unless the soul have a new life put into it, unless there be a vital principle within, unless the Spirit of life be the informer of the spirit of man,—the word of God will be as dead in the operation, as the body in its powers and possibilities. *Sol et homo generant hominem*, saith our philosophy: "A man alone does not beget a man, but a man and the sun;" for without the influence of the celestial bodies, all natural actions are ineffective: and so it is in the operations of the soul.

Which principle, divers fanatics, both among us and in the church of Rome, misunderstanding, look for new revelations, and expect to be conducted by ecstasy, and will not pray but in a transfiguration, and live on raptures and extravagant expectations, and separate themselves from the conversation of men, by affectations, by new measures and singularities, and destroy order, and despise government, and live on illiterate phantasms and ignorant discourses. These men do ψεύδεσθαι τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, 'they belie the Holy Ghost:' for the Spirit of God makes men wise: it is an evil spirit that makes them fools. The Spirit of God makes us 'wise unto salvation;' it does not spend its holy influences in disguises and convulsions of the understanding: God's Spirit does not destroy reason, but heightens it; he never disorders the beauties of government, but is a God of order; it is the Spirit of humility, and teaches no pride; he is to be found in churches and pulpits, on altars, and in the doctors' chairs; not in conventicles, and mutinous corners of a house: he goes in company with his own ordinances, and makes progressions by the measures of life; his infusions are just as our acquisitions, and his graces pursue the methods of nature: that which was imperfect, he leads on to perfection; and that which was weak, he makes strong: he opens the heart, not to receive murmurs, or to attend to secret whispers, but to hear the word of God; and then he opens the heart, and creates a new one; and without this new creation, this new principle of life, we may hear the word of God, but we can never understand it; we hear the sound, but are never the better; unless there be in our hearts a secret conviction by the Spirit of God, the gospel itself is a dead letter, and worketh not in us the light and righteousness of God.

Do not we see this by daily experience? Even those things which a good man and an evil man know, they do not know them both alike. A wicked man does know that good is lovely, and sin is of an evil and destructive nature; and when he is reproved, he is convinced; and when he is observed, he is ashamed; and when he has done, he is unsatisfied; and when he pursues his sin, he does it in the dark: tell him he shall die, and he sighs deeply, but he knows it as well as you: proceed, and say, that after death comes judgment, and the poor man believes and trembles; he knows that God is angry with him; and if you tell him, that for aught he knows he may be in hell to-morrow, he knows that it is an intolerable truth, but it is also undeniable: and yet, after all this, he runs to commit his sin with as certain an event and resolution as if he knew no argument against it: these notices of things terrible and true pass through his understanding, as an eagle through the air; as long as her flight lasted, the air was shaken, but there remains no path behind her.

Now since, at the same time, we see other persons, not so learned, it may be, not so much versed in Scriptures,—yet they say a thing is good and lay hold of it; they believe glorious things of heaven, and they live accordingly, as men that believe themselves; half a word is enough to make them understand; a nod is a sufficient reproof; the crowing of a cock, the singing of a lark, the dawning of the day, and the washing their hands, are to them competent memorials of religion, and warnings of their duty. What is the reason of this difference? They both read the Scriptures, they read and hear the same sermons, they have capable understandings, they both believe what they hear and what they read, and yet the event is vastly different. The reason is that which I am now speaking of; the one understands by one principle, the other by another; the one understands by nature, and the other by grace; the one by human learning, and the other by Divine; the one reads the Scriptures without, and the other within; the one understands as a son of man, the other as a son of God; the one perceives by the proportions of the world, and the other by the measures of the Spirit; the one understands by reason, and the other by love; and therefore he does not only understand the sermons

of the Spirit, and perceives their meaning, but he pierces deeper, and knows the meaning of that meaning; that is, the secret of the Spirit, that which is spiritually discerned, that which gives life to the proposition, and activity to the soul. And the reason is, because he hath a divine principle within him, and a new understanding; that is plainly, he hath love, and that is more than knowlege; as was rarely well observed by St. Paul, 'Knowlege puffeth up, but charity edifieth;' that is, charity makes the best scholars. No sermons can edify you, no Scriptures can build you up a holy building to God, unless the love of God be in your hearts, and 'purify your souls from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit.'

But so it is in the regions of the stars, where a vast body of fire is so divided by eccentric motions, that it looks as if Nature had parted them into orbs and round shells of plain and purest materials: but where the cause is simple, and the matter without variety, the motions must be uniform; and in heaven we should either espy no motion, or no variety. But God, who designed the heavens to be the causes of all changes and motions here below, hath placed his angels in their houses of light, and given to every one of his appointed officers a portion of the fiery matter to circumnavigate and roll; and now the wonder ceases: for if it be inquired why this part of the fire runs eastward, and the other to the south, they being both indifferent to either,—it is because an angel of God sits in the centre, and makes the same matter turn, not by the bent of its own mobility and inclination, but in order to the needs of man and the great purposes of God: and so it is in the understandings of men; when they all receive the same notions, and are taught by the same master, and give full consent to all the propositions, and can, of themselves, have nothing to distinguish them in the events, it is because God has sent his Divine Spirit, and kindles a new fire, and creates a braver capacity, and applies the actives to the passives, and blesses their operation; for there is, in the heart of man, such a dead sea, and an indisposition to holy flames, like as in the cold rivers in the north, so as the fires will not burn them, and the sun itself will never warm them, till God's Holy Spirit does, from the temple of the New Jerusalem, bring a holy flame, and make it shine and burn.

'The natural man,' saith the holy Apostle,* 'cannot perceive the things of the Spirit; they are foolishness unto him, for they are spiritually discerned:' for he that discourses of things by the measures of sense, thinks nothing good but that which is delicious to the palate, or pleases the brutish part of man; and therefore, while he estimates the secrets of religion by such measures, they must needs seem as insipid as cork, or the uncondited mushroom; for they have nothing at all of that in their constitution. A voluptuous person is like the dogs of Sicily, so filled with the deliciousness of plants that grow in every furrow and hedge, that they can never keep the scent of their game. Ἀδύνατον ἀνάμιξαι ὕδατι πῦρ· οὕτως οἶμαι τρυφὴν καὶ κατάνυξιν, said St. Chrysostom: "The fire and water can never mingle; so neither can sensuality, and the watchfulness and wise discerning of the spirit."—*Pilato interroganti de veritate, Christus non respondit;* "When the wicked governor asked of Christ concerning truth, Christ gave him no answer." He was not fit to hear it.

He, therefore, who so understands the words of God, that he not only believes, but loves the proposition; he who consents with all his heart, and, being convinced of the truth, does also apprehend the necessity, and obeys the precept, and delights in the discovery, and lays his hand on his heart, and reduces the notices of things to the practice of duty; he who dares trust his proposition, and drives it on to the utmost issue, resolving to go after it whithersoever it can invite him; this man walks in the Spirit; at least thus far he is gone towards it; his understanding is brought *in obsequium Christi*, 'into the obedience of Christ.' This is a 'loving God with all our mind;' and whatever goes less than this, is but memory, and not understanding; or else such notice of things, by which a man is neither the wiser nor the better.

3. Sometimes God gives to his choicest, his most elect and precious servants, a knowlege even of secret things, which he communicates not to others. We find it greatly remarked in the case of Abraham, 'And the Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham that thing that I do?'† Why not from Abraham?—

* 1 Cor. ii. 14. † Gen. xviii. 17.

God tells us: 'For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.'* And though this be irregular and infrequent, yet it is a reward of their piety, and the proper increase also of the spiritual man. We find this spoken by God to Daniel, and promised to be the lot of the righteous man in the days of the Messias:† 'Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly:'—and what then?—'None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand.'‡ Where, besides that the wise man and the wicked are opposed, plainly signifying that the wicked man is a fool and an ignorant; it is plainly said, that 'None of the wicked shall understand' the wisdom and mysteriousness of the kingdom of the Messias.

4. A good life is the best way to understand wisdom and religion, because, by the experiences and relishes of religion, there is conveyed to us a sweetness, to which all wicked men are strangers: there is in the things of God, to them which practise them, a deliciousness that makes us love them, and that love admits us into God's cabinet, and strangely clarifies the understanding by the purification of the heart. For when our reason is raised up by the Spirit of Christ, it is turned quickly into experience; when our faith relies on the principles of Christ, it is changed into vision; and so long as we know God only in the ways of man, by contentious learning, by arguing and dispute,—we see nothing but the shadow of him; and in that shadow we meet with many dark appearances, little certainty, and much conjecture: but when we know him λόγῳ ἀποφαντικῷ, γαλήνῃ νοερᾷ, with the eyes of holiness, and the intuition of gracious experiences, with a quiet spirit and the peace of enjoyment; then we shall hear what we never heard, and see what our eyes never saw; then the mysteries of godliness shall be opened unto us, and clear as the windows of the morning: and this is rarely well expressed by the Apostle, 'If we stand up from the dead, and awake from sleep, then Christ shall give us light.'§

* Gen. xviii. 19. † Dan. xii. 10. ‡ Dan. xli. 10.
§ Eph. v. 14.

For although the Scriptures themselves are written by the Spirit of God, yet they are written within and without; and, besides the light that shines on the face of them, unless there be a light shining within our hearts, unfolding the leaves, and interpreting the mysterious sense of the Spirit, convincing our consciences and preaching to our hearts, to look for Christ in the leaves of the gospel, is to 'look for the living amongst the dead.' There is a life in them, but that life is, according to St. Paul's expression, 'hid with Christ in God:' and, unless the Spirit of God be the *promo-condus*, we shall never draw it forth.

Human learning brings excellent ministries towards this; it is admirably useful for the reproof of heresies, for the detection of fallacies, for the letter of the Scripture, for collateral testimonies, for exterior advantages; but there is something beyond this, that human learning, without the addition of Divine, can never reach. Moses was learned in all the learning of the Egyptians; and the holy men of God contemplated the glories of God in the admirable order, motion, and influences of the heavens; but besides all this, they were taught of God something far beyond these prettinesses. Pythagoras read Moses's books, and so did Plato; and yet they became not proselytes of the religion, though they were learned scholars of such a master. The reason is, because that, which they drew forth from thence, was not the life and secret of it.

Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses.*

There is a secret in these books, which few men, none but the godly, did understand; and though much of this secret is made manifest in the gospel, yet even here, also, there is a letter, and there is a spirit; still there is a reserve for God's secret ones, even all those deep mysteries which the Old Testament covered in figures, and stories, and names, and prophecies, and which Christ hath, and by his Spirit will yet reveal more plainly to all that will understand them by their proper measures. For, although the gospel is infinitely more legible and plain than the obscurer leaves of the law, yet there is a seal on them also;

* Juv. xiv. 102.

'which seal no man shall open, but he that is worthy.' We may understand something of it by the three children of the captivity; they were all skilled in all the wisdom of the Chaldees, and so was Daniel: but there was something beyond that in him; 'the wisdom of the most High God was in him;' and that taught him a learning beyond his learning.

In all Scripture there is a spiritual sense, a spiritual cabala, which, as it tends directly to holiness, so it is best and truest understood by the sons of the Spirit, who love God, and therefore know him. *Γνῶσις ἑκάστων δι' ὁμοιότητα γίνεται*, "Every thing is best known by its own similitudes and analogies."

But I must take some other time to speak fully of these things; I have but one thing more to say, and then I shall make my applications of this doctrine, and so conclude.

5. Lastly, there is a sort of God's dear servants who walk in perfectness, who 'perfect holiness in the fear of God;' and they have a degree of clarity and divine knowlege more than we can discourse of, and more certain than the demonstrations of geometry, brighter than the sun, and indeficient as the light of heaven. This is called by the Apostle the *ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ θεοῦ*· Christ is this 'brightness of God,' manifested in the hearts of his dearest servants.

> *Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐς καθαρῶν μερόπων φρένα πυρσὸν ἀνάπτω*
> *Εὐμαθίης.*———

But I shall say no more of this at this time, for this is to be felt, and not to be talked of; and they that never touched it with their finger, may secretly, perhaps, laugh at it in their heart, and be never the wiser. All that I shall now say of it is, that a good man is united unto God *κέντρον κέντρῳ σύναψας*: as a flame touches a flame, and combines into splendor and to glory, so is the spirit of a man united unto Christ by the Spirit of God. These are the friends of God, and they best know God's mind; and they only that are so, know how much such men do know. They have a special unction from above: so that now you are come to the top of all; this is the highest round of the ladder, and the angels stand on it: they dwell in love and contemplation, they worship and obey, but dispute not: and our quarrels and impertinent wranglings about religion

are nothing else but the want of the measures of this state. Our light is like a candle; every wind of vain doctrine blows it out, or spends the wax, and makes the light tremulous; but the lights of heaven are fixed and bright, and shine for ever.

But that we may speak not only things mysterious, but things intelligible; how does it come to pass, by what means and what economy is it effected, that a holy life is the best determination of all questions, and the surest way of knowlege? Is it to be supposed, that a godly man is better enabled to determine the questions of purgatory or transubstantiation? is the gift of chastity the best way to reconcile Thomas and Scotus? and is a temperate man always a better scholar than a drunkard? To this I answer, that in all things in which true wisdom consists, holiness, which is the best wisdom, is the surest way of understanding them. And this,

1. Is effected by holiness as a proper and natural instrument: for naturally every thing is best discerned by its proper light and congenial instrument.

Γαίῃ μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν ὀπώπαμεν, ὕδατι δ' ὕδωρ.

For as the eye sees visible objects, and the understanding perceives the intellectual; so does the Spirit the things of the Spirit. 'The natural man,' saith St. Paul, 'knows not the things of God, for they are spiritually discerned:' that is, they are discovered by a proper light, and concerning these things an unsanctified man discourses pitifully, with an imperfect idea, as a blind man does of light and colors, which he never saw.

A good man, though unlearned in secular notices, is like the windows of the temple, narrow without and broad within: he sees not so much of what profits not abroad, but whatsoever is within, and concerns religion and the glorifications of God, that he sees with a broad inspection: but all human learning, without God, is but blindness and ignorant folly.

But when it is *δικαιοσύνη βεβαμμένη εἰς βάθος τῆς ἀληθείας*, "righteousness dipped in the wells of truth;" it is like an eye of gold in a rich garment, or, like the light of heaven, it shows itself by its own splendor. What learning is it to discourse of the philosophy of the sacrament, if you do not feel the virtue of it? and the man that can with eloquence and subtilty dis-

course of the instrumental efficacy of baptismal waters, talks ignorantly in respect of him who hath 'the answer of a good conscience' within, and is cleansed by the purifications of the Spirit. If the question concern any thing that can perfect a man and make him happy, all that is the proper knowlege and notice of the good man. How can a wicked man understand the purities of the heart? and how can an evil and unworthy communicant tell what it is to have received Christ by faith, to dwell with him, to be united to him, to receive him in his heart? The good man only understands that: the one sees the color, and the other feels the substance; the one discourses of the sacrament, and the other receives Christ; the one discourses for or against transubstantiation, but the good man feels himself to be changed, and so joined to Christ, that he only understands the true sense of transubstantiation, while he becomes to Christ bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, and of the same spirit with his Lord.

We talk much of reformation, and (blessed be God) once we have felt the good of it; but of late we have smarted under the name and pretension: the woman that lost her groat, *everrit domum*, not *evertit;* "she swept the house, she did not turn the house out of doors." That was but an ill reformation, that untiled the roof and broke the walls, and was digging down the foundation.

Now among all the pretensions of reformation, who can tell better what is, and what is not, true reformation, than he that is truly reformed himself? He knows what pleases God, and can best tell by what instruments he is reconciled. 'The mouth of the just bringeth forth wisdom, and the lips of the righteous know what is acceptable,' saith Solomon.* He cannot be cozened by names of things, and feels that reformation to be imposture that is sacrilegious: himself is humble and obedient, and therefore knows that is not truth that persuades to schism and disobedience: and most of the questions of Christendom are such which are either good for nothing, and therefore to be laid aside; or if they be complicated with action, and are ministries of practice, no man can judge them so well as the spi-

* Prov. x. 31, 32.

ritual man. That which best pleases God, that which does good to our neighbor, that which teaches sobriety, that which combines with government, that which speaks honor of God, and does him honor,—that only is truth. Holiness therefore, is a proper and natural instrument of divine knowlege, and must needs be the best way of instruction in the questions of Christendom, because, in the most of them, a duty is complicated with the proposition.

No man that intends to live holily, can ever suffer any pretences of religion to be made to teach him to fight against his king. And when the men of Geneva turned their bishop out of doors, they might easily have considered, that the same person was their prince too; and that must needs be a strange religion, that rose up against Moses and Aaron at the same time: but that hath been the method ever since. There was no church till then ever governed without an Apostle or a bishop: and since then, they who go from their bishop, have said very often to their king too, *Nolumus hunc regnare:* and when we see men pretending religion, and yet refuse to own the king's supremacy, they may, on the stock of holiness, easily reprove their own folly, by considering that such recusancy does introduce into our churches the very worst, the most intolerable parts of popery: for perfect submission to kings is the glory of the protestant cause: and really the reprovable doctrines of the church of Rome are by nothing so much confuted, as that they destroy good life by consequent and evident deduction; as by an induction of particulars were easy to make apparent, if this were the proper season for it.

2. Holiness is not only an advantage to the learning all wisdom and holiness, but for the discerning that which is wise and holy from what is trifling, and useless, and contentious; and to one of these heads all questions will return: and therefore, in all, from holiness we have the best instructions. And this brings me to the next particle of the general consideration. For that which we are taught by the holy Spirit of God, this new nature, this vital principle within us, it is that which is worth our learning; not vain and empty, idle and insignificant notions, in which when you have labored till your eyes are fixed in their orbs, and your flesh unfixed from its bones, you

are no better and no wiser. If the Spirit of God be your teacher, he will teach you such truths as will make you know and love God, and become like to him, and enjoy him for ever, by passing from similitude to union and eternal fruition. But what are you the better, if any man should pretend to teach you whether every angel makes a species? and what is the individuation of the soul in the state of separation? what are you the wiser, if you should study and find out what place Adam should for ever have lived in, if he had not fallen? and what is any man the more learned, if he hears the disputes, whether Adam should have multiplied children in the state of innocence, and what would have been the event of things, if one child had been born before his father's sin?

Too many scholars have lived on air and empty notions for many ages past, and troubled themselves with tying and untying knots, like hypochondriacs in a fit of melancholy, thinking of nothing, and troubling themselves with nothing, and falling out about nothings, and being very wise and very learned in things that are not and work not, and were never planted in paradise by the finger of God. Men's notions are too often like the mules, begotten by equivocal and unnatural generations; but they make no species: they are begotten, but they can beget nothing; they are the effects of long study, but they can do no good when they are produced: they are not that which Solomon calls *viam intelligentiæ*, 'the way of understanding.' If the Spirit of God be our teacher, we shall learn to avoid evil and to do good, to be wise and to be holy, to be profitable and careful: and they that walk in this way, shall find more peace in their consciences, more skill in the Scriptures, more satisfaction in their doubts, than can be obtained by all the polemical and impertinent disputations of the world. And if the Holy Spirit can teach us how vain a thing it is to do foolish things, he also will teach us how vain a thing it is to trouble the world with foolish questions, to disturb the church for interest or pride, to resist government in things indifferent, to spend the people's zeal in things unprofitable, to make religion to consist in outsides, and opposition to circumstances, and trifling regards. No, no; the man that is wise, he that is conducted by the Spirit of God,—knows better in what Christ's kingdom does consist, than to

throw away his time and interest, and peace and safety—for what? for religion? no: for the body of religion? not so much: for the garment of the body of religion? no, not for so much; but for the fringes of the garment of the body of religion; for such, and no better are the disputes that trouble our discontented brethren; they are things, or rather circumstances and manners of things, in which the soul and spirit are not at all concerned.

3. Holiness of life is the best way of finding out truth and understanding; not only as a natural medium, nor only as a prudent medium, but as a means by way of divine blessing. 'He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.'* Here we have a promise for it; and on that we may rely.

The old man that confuted the Arian priest by a plain recital of his creed, found a mighty power of God effecting his own work by a strange manner, and by a very plain instrument: it wrought a Divine blessing just as sacraments use to do: and this lightening sometimes comes in a strange manner, as a peculiar blessing to good men. For God kept the secrets of his kingdom from the wise heathens and the learned Jews, revealing them to babes; not because they had less learning, but because they had more love; they were children and babes in malice; they loved Christ, and so he became to them a light and a glory. St. Paul had more learning than they all; and Moses was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians: yet because he was the meekest man on earth, he was also the wisest; and to his human learning, in which he was excellent, he had a divine light and excellent wisdom superadded to him, by way of spiritual blessings. And St. Paul, though he went very far to the knowlege of many great and excellent truths by the force of human learning, yet he was far short of perfective truth and true wisdom, till he learned a new lesson in a new school, at the feet of one greater than his Gamaliel: his learning grew much greater, his notions brighter, his skill deeper,—by the love of Christ, and his desires, his passionate desires, after Jesus.

* John, xiv. 21.

The force and use of human learning, and of this divine learning I am now speaking of, are both well expressed by the prophet Isaiah; 'And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I am not learned.'* He that is no learned man, who is not bred up in the schools of the prophets, cannot read God's book for want of learning; for human learning is the gate and first entrance of divine vision; not the only one indeed, but the common gate. But beyond this, there must be another learning; for he that is learned, bring the book to him, and you are not much the better as to the secret part of it, if the book be sealed, if his eyes be closed, if his heart be not opened, if God does not speak to him in the secret way of discipline. Human learning is an excellent foundation: but the top-stone is laid by love and conformity to the will of God. For we may farther observe, that blindness, error, and ignorance, are the punishments which God sends on wicked and ungodly men. *Etiamnum, propter nostræ intelligentiæ tarditatem et vitæ demeritum, veritas nondum se apertissime ostenderit*, was St. Austin's expression: "The truth hath not yet been manifested fully to us, by reason of our demerits:" our sins have hindered the brightness of the truth from shining on us. And St. Paul observes, that when the heathens gave themselves 'over to lusts, God gave them over to strong delusions, and to believe a lie.'† But 'God giveth to a man that is good in his sight, wisdom, and knowlege, and joy,' said the wise Preacher.‡ But this is most expressly promised in the New Testament, and particularly in that admirable sermon, which our blessed Saviour preached a little before his death: 'The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things.'§ Well, there is our teacher told of plainly: but how shall we be taught? Christ

* Isa. xxix. 11, 12. † Rom. i. 25, 26. ‡ Eccles. ii. 26.
§ John, xiv. 26.

will pray for us that we may have this Spirit.* That is well: but shall all Christians have the Spirit? Yes, all that will live like Christians: for so said Christ, 'If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him.' Mark these things. The Spirit of God is our teacher:—he will abide with us for ever to be our teacher:—he will teach us all things:—but how? 'If ye love Christ,' if ye keep his commandments, but not else: if ye be of the world, that is of worldly affections, ye cannot see him, ye cannot know him. And this is the particular I am now to speak to; the way by which the Spirit of God teaches us in all the ways and secrets of God, is love and holiness.

Secreta Dei Deo nostro et filiis domus ejus, "God's secrets are to himself and the sons of his house," saith the Jewish proverb. Love is the great instrument of Divine knowlege, that is the *ὕψωμα τῶν διδασκομένων*, "the height of all that is to be taught or learned." Love is obedience, and we learn his words best when we practise them; *Ἃ γὰρ δεῖ μανθάνοντας ποιεῖν, ταῦτα ποιοῦντες μανθάνομεν*, said Aristotle;† "Those things which they that learn ought to practise,—even while they practise, they will best learn." *Quisquis non venit, profecto nec didicit: ita enim Dominus docet per Spiritus gratiam, ut quod quisque didicerit, non tantum cognoscendo videat, sed etiam volendo appetat, et agendo perficiat;* St. Austin:‡ "Unless we come to Christ, we shall never learn: for so our blessed Lord teaches us by the grace of his Spirit, that what any one learns, he not only sees it by knowlege, but desires it by choice, and perfects it by practice."

4. When this is reduced to practice and experience, we find not only in things of practice, but even in deepest mysteries, not only the choicest and most eminent saints, but even every good man, can best tell what is true, and best reprove an error.

* John, xiv. 16, 17. † Lib. ii. Ethic. c. 1.

‡ De Gratia Christi, lib. i. c. 14. Nullum bonum perfecte noscitur quod non perfecte amatur.—Aug. lib. lxxxiii. Qu. de Gratia Christi.

He that goes about to speak of and to understand the mysterious Trinity, and does it by words and names of man's invention, or by such which signify contingently; if he reckons this mystery by the mythology of numbers, by the cabala of letters, by the distinctions of the school, and by the weak inventions of disputing people; if he only talks of essences and existences, hypostasies and personalities, distinctions without difference, and priority in coequalities, and unity in pluralities, and of superior predicates of no larger extent than the inferior subjects; —he may amuse himself, and find his understanding will be like St. Peter's on the mount of Tabor at the transfiguration: he may build three tabernacles in his head, and talk something, but he knows not what. But the good man, that feels the 'power of the Father,' and he to whom 'the Son is become wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption;' he in 'whose heart the love of the Spirit of God is spread;' to whom God hath communicated the 'Holy Ghost, the Comforter;'—this man, though he understands nothing of that which is unintelligible, yet he only understands the mysteriousness of the Holy Trinity. No man can be convinced well and wisely of the article of the holy, blessed, and undivided Trinity, but he that feels the mightiness of 'the Father begetting him to a new life,' the wisdom of 'the Son building him up in a most holy faith,' and the 'love of the Spirit of God making him to become like unto God.'

He that hath passed from his childhood in grace, under the generation of the Father, and is gone forward to be a young man in Christ, strong and vigorous in holy actions and holy undertakings, and from thence is become an old disciple, and strong and grown old in religion, and the conversation of the Spirit; this man best understands the secret and undiscernible economy, he feels this unintelligible mystery, and sees with his heart what his tongue can never express, and his metaphysics can never prove. In these cases faith and love are the best knowlege, and Jesus Christ is best known by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; and if the kingdom of God be in us, then we know God, and are known of him; and when we communicate of the Spirit of God, when we pray for him, and have received him, and entertained him, and dwelt with him, and

warmed ourselves by his holy fires,—then we know him too: but there is no other satisfactory knowlege of the blessed Trinity but this: and, therefore, whatever thing is spoken of God metaphysically, there is no knowing of God theologically, and as he ought to be known, but by the measures of holiness, and the proper light of the Spirit of God.

But in this case experience is the best learning, and Christianity is the best institution, and the Spirit of God is the best teacher, and holiness is the greatest wisdom; and he that sins most, is the most ignorant,—and the humble and obedient man is the best scholar: 'For the Spirit of God is a loving Spirit, and will not enter into a polluted soul: but he that keepeth the law, getteth the understanding thereof; and the perfection of the fear of the Lord is wisdom,' said the wise Ben-Sirach.* And now give me leave to apply the doctrine to you, and so I shall dismiss you from this attention.

Many ways have been attempted to reconcile the differences of the church in matters of religion, and all the counsels of man have yet proved ineffective: let us now try God's method, let us betake ourselves to live holily, and then the Spirit of God will lead us into all truth. And indeed it matters not what religion any man is of, if he be a villain: the opinion of his sect, as it will not save his soul, so neither will it do good to the public: but this is a sure rule, if the holy man best understands wisdom and religion, then by the proportions of holiness we shall best measure the doctrines, that are obtruded to the disturbance of our peace, and the dishonor of the gospel. And, therefore,

1. That is no good religion, whose principles destroy any duty of religion. He that shall maintain it to be lawful to make a war for the defence of his opinion, be it what it will, his doctrine is against godliness. Any thing that is proud, any thing that is peevish and scornful, any thing that is uncharitable, is against the ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, that 'form of sound doctrine,' which the Apostle speaks of. And I remember that Ammianus Marcellinus, telling of George, a proud and factious minister, that he was an informer against his brethren, he

* Ecclus. xxi. 11.

says he did it *oblitus professionis suæ, quæ nil nisi justum suadet et lene;* "He forgot his profession, which teaches nothing but justice and meekness, kindnesses and charity." And however Bellarmine and others are pleased to take but indirect and imperfect notice of it, yet goodness is the best note of the true church.

2. It is but an ill sign of holiness when a man is busy in troubling himself and his superiors in little scruples and fantastic opinions, about things not concerning the life of religion, or the pleasure of God, or the excellences of the Spirit. A good man knows how to please God, how to converse with him, how to advance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, to set forward holiness, and the love of God and of his brother; and he knows also that there is no godliness in spending our time and our talk, our heart and our spirits, about the garments and outsides of religion: and they can ill teach others, that do not know that religion does not consist in these things; but obedience may, and reductively that is religion: and he that, for that which is no part of religion, destroys religion directly, by neglecting that duty that is adopted into religion,—is a man of fancy and of the world; but he gives but an ill account, that he is a man of God and a son of the Spirit.

Spend not your time in that which profits not; for your labor and your health, your time and your studies are very valuable; and it is a thousand pities to see a diligent and a hopeful person spend himself in gathering cockle-shells and little pebbles, in telling sands on the shores, and making garlands of useless daisies. Study that which is profitable, that which will make you useful to churches and commonwealths, that which will make you desirable and wise. Only I shall add this to you, that in learning there are variety of things, as well as in religion: there is mint and cummin, and there are the weighty things of the law; so there are studies more and less useful, and every thing that is useful will be required in its time: and I may in this also use the words of our blessed Saviour, 'These things ought you to look after, and not to leave the other unregarded.' But your great care is to be in the things of God and of religion, in holiness and true wisdom, remembering the saying of Origen, "That the knowlege that

arises from goodness is θείοτερόν τι πάσης ἀποδείξεως, 'something that is more certain and more divine than all demonstration,' than all other learnings of the world."

3. That is no good religion that disturbs governments, or shakes the foundation of public peace. Kings and bishops are the foundations and the great principles of unity, of peace, and government; like Rachel and Leah, they build up the house of Israel: and those blind Samsons that shake these pillars, intend to pull the house down. 'My son, fear God and the king,' saith Solomon; 'and meddle not with them that are given to change.' That is not truth that loves changes; and the new nothings of heretical and schismatical preachers are infinitely far from the blessings of truth.

In the holy language, truth hath a mysterious name, אמת "emet;" it consists of three letters, the first and the last and the middlemost of the Hebrew letters; implying to us, that truth is first, and will be last, and it is the same all the way, and combines and unites all extremes; it ties all ends together. —"Truth is lasting, and ever full of blessing:" for the Jews observe that those letters which signify truth, are both in the figure and the number quadrate, firm, and cubical: these signify a foundation, and an abode for ever: whereas, on the other side, the word which in Hebrew signifies a lie, שחר "secher," is made of letters whose numbers are imperfect, and their figure pointed and voluble; to signify that a lie hath no foundation.

And this very observation will give good light in our questions and disputes: and I give my instance in episcopal government, which hath been of so lasting an abode, of so long a blessing, hath its firmament by the principles of Christianity, hath been blest by the issues of that stabiliment; it hath for sixteen hundred years combined with monarchy, and hath been taught by the Spirit which hath so long dwelt in God's church, and hath now—according to the promise of Jesus, that says, 'the gates of hell shall never prevail against the church,'—been restored amongst us by a heap of miracles; and as it went away, so now it is returned again in the hand of monarchy, and in the bosom of our fundamental laws. Now that doctrine must needs be suspected of error, and an intolerable lie, that

speaks against this truth, which hath had so long a testimony from God, and from the wisdom and experience of so many ages, of all our ancestors, and all our laws.

When the Spirit of God wrote in Greek, Christ is called A and Ω; if he had spoken Hebrew, he had been called א and ת, that is, אמת "emet;" he is "truth," 'the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever:' and whoever opposes this holy sanction, which Christ's Spirit hath sanctified, his word hath warranted, his blessings have endeared, his promises have ratified, and his church hath always kept; he fights against this אמת "emet," and "secher" is his portion; his lot is a "lie;" his portion is there, where holiness can never dwell.

And now to conclude: to you, fathers and brethren, you who are, or intend to be of the clergy; you see here the best compendium of your studies, the best abbreviature of your labors, the truest method of wisdom, and the infallible, the only way of judging concerning the disputes and questions in Christendom. It is not by reading multitudes of books, but by studying the truth of God: it is not by laborious commentaries of the doctors that you can finish your work, but by the expositions of the Spirit of God: it is not by the rules of metaphysics, but by the proportions of holiness: and when all books are read, and all arguments examined, and all authorities alleged, nothing can be found to be true that is unholy. 'Give yourselves to reading, to exhortation, and to doctrine,' saith St. Paul. Read all good books you can; but exhortation unto good life is the best instrument, and the best teacher of true doctrine, of that which is 'according to godliness.'

And let me tell you this, the great learning of the fathers was more owing to their piety than to their skill; more to God than to themselves: and to this purpose is that excellent ejaculation of St. Chrysostom,* with which I will conclude: "O blessed and happy men, whose names are in the book of life, from whom the devils fled, and heretics did fear them, who (by holiness) have stopped the mouths of them that spake perverse things! But I, like David, will cry out, 'Where are thy loving-kindnesses which have been ever of old?' Where

* Lib. de Consummat. Seculi, inter opera Ephrem Syri.

is the blessed quire of bishops and doctors, who shined like lights in the world, and contained the word of life? *Dulce est meminisse;* "their very memory is pleasant." Where is that Evodias, the sweet savor of the church, the successor and imitator of the holy Apostles? Where is Ignatius, in whom God dwelt? Where is St. Dionysius the Areopagite, that bird of Paradise, that celestial eagle? Where is Hippolytus, that good man, ἀνὴρ χρηστὸς, "that gentle, sweet person?" Where is great St. Basil, a man almost equal to the Apostles? Where is Athanasius, rich in virtue? Where is Gregory Nyssen, that great divine? And Ephrem, the great Syrian, that stirred up the sluggish, and awakened the sleepers, and comforted the afflicted, and brought the young men to discipline; the looking-glass of the religious, the captain of the penitents, the destruction of heresies, the receptacle of graces, the habitation of the Holy Ghost?" These were the men that prevailed against error, because they lived according to truth: and whoever shall oppose you, and the truth you walk by, may better be confuted by your lives than by your disputations. Let your adversaries have no evil thing to say of you, and then you will best silence them: for all heresies and false doctrines are but like Myron's counterfeit cow, it deceived none but beasts; and these can cozen none but the wicked and the negligent, them that love a lie, and live according to it. But if ye become burning and shining lights; if ye do not detain the truth in unrighteousness; if ye walk in light, and live in the Spirit; your doctrines will be true, and that truth will prevail. But if ye live wickedly and scandalously, every little schismatic shall put you to shame, and draw disciples after him, and abuse your flocks, and feed them with colocynths and hemlock, and place heresy in the chairs appointed for your religion.

I pray God give you all grace to follow this wisdom, to study this learning, to labor for the understanding of godliness; so your time and your studies, your persons and your labors, will be holy and useful, sanctified and blessed, beneficial to men and pleasing to God, through him who is the wisdom of the Father, who is made to all that love him wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: to whom, with the Father, &c.

A

SERMON

PREACHED IN

CHRIST'S CHURCH, DUBLIN,

July 16, 1663,

AT THE FUNERAL

OF

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN,

LATE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

SUMMARY OF SERMON VII.

1 CORINTHIANS, CHAP. XV.—VERSE 23.

PRELIMINARY observations, on the weak and limited state of man in this world; on the hope of man in the resurrection of the soul, even in this world, from sorrow and sad pressures, &c.; on death as the end of all his mortal hopes, and joys, and troubles; and on the resurrection from death; from the death of the body, to the life of the soul, &c.

The great hinges of our religion are these: 1. Christ is already risen from the dead: 2. we also shall rise in God's time and our due order; for Christ is the first-fruits: this topic enlarged on.

1. Christ is the first-fruits: he is already risen from the dead, for he alone could not be held by death. Death was Sin's eldest daughter; but Christ was conqueror over both, and came to take away one, and to disarm the other. This was a glory fit for the Head of mankind; but it was too great and good to be easily believed by incredulous and weak-hearted men: doubts stated, objections answered, and proofs alleged. This article was so clearly proved, that men became no longer ashamed of the cross, &c.; but it soon came to pass that the religion of the despised Jesus infinitely prevailed: nature of this religion described, &c.: conduct of its disciples, &c.: so that men could no longer doubt of the resurrection of Jesus, when they saw such forcible reasons for belief: these enumerated. He therefore is the first-fruits; and if we hope to rise through him, we must confess that he is first risen from the dead. That is the first particular.

2. There is an order for us also: we too shall rise again. If it was done once, it may be done again; for since it could never have been done but by an infinite Power, that infinite must also be eternal and indeficient. When man was not, what power, what cause, made him to be? Whatsoever it was, it did then as great a work as to raise his body to the same being again: this topic dilated on.

Opinions, even of the heathens, were not against this mystery. God makes it credible to us by sleep, the image of death, &c. Nature herself is a sufficient preacher on this point: instances of night and day, of the seasons, of generation and corruption, &c.: the Old Testament and the New, the words of Job and the visions of the prophets, the history of Jonas, Jews, and Christians, the faith of believers, and the philosophy of the reasonable, all join in the verification of this mystery. God's intent declared in his translation of Enoch. But Christ, the first-fruits, is gone before; and himself did promise, that when he was lifted up, he would draw all men after him. *Every man in his own order; first Christ, then they that are Christ's at his coming.* Concerning this order some observations are to be made.

3. First Christ, and then we; and we therefore, because Christ is already risen: but it must be remembered, that the resurrection and exaltation of Christ was the reward of his perfect obedience and pure holiness; and he calling us to an imitation of the same, prepares a way for us to the same resurrection: there are no other terms; no other method by which God, who brought Christ to glory, will bring us.

4. Furthermore; *Every man in his own order; first Christ, and then they that are Christ's.* But what will become of those that are not Christ's? There is an order for them too: first *they that are Christ's, and then they that are not his.* There is a first and a second resurrection even after this life: *the dead in Christ shall rise first.* Now blessed are they that have their

portion here; *for on these the second death shall have no power.* As for the recalling of the wicked from their graves, this is no more a resurrection than the taking of a criminal from prison to the bar is a giving of liberty: this subject enlarged on and illustrated. Exhortations to those who profess their belief in this article of the resurrection. Considerations on the uncertainty of life, and the certainty of all men, whatever be their station, lying down in the grave. Piety of the Christian church in commemorating great and worthy persons. Example of St. Paul considered. Character of the Lord Primate dilated on. Conclusion.

SERMON VII.

A FUNERAL SERMON.

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1 CORINTHIANS, CHAP. XV.—VERSE 23.

But every man in his own order: Christ the first fruits; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming.

THE condition of man, in this world, is so limited and depressed, so relative and imperfect, that the best things he does, he does weakly,—and the best things he hath, are imperfections in their very constitution. I need not tell how little it is that we know: the greatest indication of this is, that we can never tell how many things we know not; and we may soon span our own knowlege, but our ignorance we can never fathom. Our very will, in which mankind pretends to be most noble and imperial, is a direct state of imperfection; and our very liberty of choosing good and evil is permitted to us, not to make us proud, but to make us humble; for it supposes weakness of reason and weakness of love. For if we understood all the degrees of amability in the service of God, or if we had such love to God as he deserves, and so perfect a conviction as were fit for his services, we could no more deliberate: for liberty of will is like the motion of a magnetic needle toward the north, full of trembling and uncertainty till it were fixed in the beloved point; it wavers as long as it is free, and is at rest when it can choose no more. And truly what is the hope of man? It is indeed the resurrection of the soul in this world from sorrow and her saddest pressures, and like the twilight to the day, and the harbinger of joy; but still it is but a con-

jugation of infirmities, and proclaims our present calamity; only because it is uneasy here, it thrusts us forward toward the light and glories of the resurrection.

For as a worm creeping with her belly on the ground, with her portion and share of Adam's curse, lifts up its head to partake a little of the blessings of the air, and opens the junctures of her imperfect body, and curls her little rings into knots and combinations, drawing up her tail to a neighborhood of the head's pleasure and motion; but still it must return to abide the fate of its own nature, and dwell and sleep on the dust: so are the hopes of a mortal man; he opens his eyes, and looks on fine things at distance, and shuts them again with weakness, because they are too glorious to behold; and the man rejoices because he hopes fine things are staying for him; but his heart aches, because he knows there are a thousand ways to fail and miss of those glories; and though he hopes, yet he enjoys not; he longs, but he possesses not, and must be content with his portion of dust; and being a "a worm, and no man," must lie down in this portion, before he can receive the end of his hopes, the salvation of his soul in the resurrection of the dead. For as death is the end of our lives, so is the resurrection the end of our hopes; and as we die daily, so we daily hope: but death, which is the end of our life, is the enlargement of our spirits from hope to certainty, from uncertain fears to certain expectations, from the death of the body to the life of the soul; that is, to partake of the light and life of Christ, to rise to life as he did; for his resurrection is the beginning of ours: he died for us alone, not for himself; but he rose again for himself and us too. So that if he did rise, so shall we; the resurrection shall be universal; good and bad, all shall rise, but not altogether: first Christ, then we that are Christ's; and yet there is a third resurrection, though not spoken of here; but thus it shall be. 'The dead in Christ shall rise first,' that is, next to Christ; and after them, the wicked shall rise to condemnation.

So that you see here is the sum of affairs treated of in my text: not whether it be lawful to eat a tortoise or a mushroom, or to tread with the foot bare on the ground within the octaves of Easter. It is not here inquired, whether angels be material

or immaterial; or whether the dwellings of dead infants be within the air or in the regions of the earth? the inquiry here is, whether we are to be Christians or no? whether we are to live good lives or no? or whether it be permitted to us to live with lust or covetousness, acted with all the daughters of rapine and ambition? whether there be any such thing as sin, any judicatory for consciences, any rewards of piety, any difference of good and bad, any rewards after this life? This is the design of these words by proper interpretation: for if men shall die like dogs and sheep, they will certainly live like wolves and foxes; but he that believes the article of the resurrection, hath entertained the greatest demonstration in the world, that nothing can make us happy but the knowlege of God, and conformity to the life and death of the holy Jesus. Here, therefore, are the great hinges of all religion: 1. Christ is already risen from the dead. 2. We also shall rise in God's time and our order. Christ is the first fruits. But there shall be a full harvest of the resurrection, and all shall rise. My text speaks only of the resurrection of the just, of them that belong to Christ; explicitly, I say, of these; and, therefore, directly of resurrection to life eternal. But because he also says there shall be an order for every man, and yet every man does not belong to Christ; therefore, indirectly also, he implies the more universal resurrection unto judgment: but this shall be the last thing that shall be done; for, according to the proverb of the Jews, Michael flies but with one wing, and Gabriel with two: God is quick in sending angels of peace, and they fly apace; but the messengers of wrath come slowly: God is more hasty to glorify his servants than to condemn the wicked. And, therefore, in the story of Dives and Lazarus, we find that the beggar died first; the good man, Lazarus, was first taken away from his misery to his comfort, and afterwards the rich man died; and as the good, many times, die first, so all of them rise first, as if it were a matter of haste: and as the mother's breasts swell, and shoot, and long to give food to her babe, so God's bowels do yearn over his banished children, and he longs to cause them to eat and drink in his kingdom. And at last the wicked shall rise unto condemnation, for that must be done too; every man in his own order:

first Christ, then Christ's servants, and, at last, Christ's enemies. The first of these is the great ground of our faith; the second is the consummation of all our hopes: the first is the foundation of God, that stands sure; the second is that superstructure that shall never perish: by the first we believe in God unto righteousness; by the second we live in God unto salvation: but the third (for that also is true and must be considered) is the great affrightment of all them that live ungodly. But in the whole, Christ's resurrection and ours is the A and Ω of a Christian; that as 'Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and to-day, and the same for ever,' so may we in Christ become the morrow of the resurrection, the same or better than yesterday in our natural life; the same body and the same soul, tied together in the same essential union, with this only difference, that not nature, but grace and glory, with an hermetic seal, give us a new signature, whereby we shall no more be changed, but, like unto Christ, our Head, we shall become the same for ever. Of these I shall discourse in order. 1. That Christ, who is the first fruits, is the first in this order: he is already risen from the dead. 2. We shall all take our turns, shall die, and, as sure as death, we shall all rise again. And, 3. This very order is effective of the thing itself. That Christ is first risen, is the demonstration and certainty of ours; for because there is an order in this economy, the first in the kind is the measure of the rest. If Christ be the first fruits, we are the whole vintage; and we shall all die in the order of nature, and shall rise again in the order of Christ: 'They that are Christ's,' and are found so 'at his coming,' shall partake of his resurrection. But Christ first, then they that are Christ's: that is the order.

1. Christ is the first fruits; he is already risen from the dead: for he alone could not be held by death. 'Free among the dead.'

> Φρίξέν σε γέρων τότε
> Ἀΐδας ὁ παλαιγενὴς,
> Καὶ λαοβόρος κύων
> Ἀνεχάσσατο βηλοῦ.*

Death was Sin's eldest daughter, and the grave-clothes were

* Synes. Hym. 9. Petavii, p. 347.

her first mantle; but Christ was Conqueror over both, and came to take that away, and to disarm this. This was a glory fit for the Head of mankind, but it was too great and too good to be easily believed by incredulous and weak-hearted man. It was at first doubted by all that were concerned; but they that saw it, had no reason to doubt any longer. But what is that to us, who saw it not? Yes, very much: *Valde dubitatum est ab illis, ne dubitaretur a nobis*, saith St. Austin: "They doubted very much, that, by their confirmation, we might be established, and doubt no more." Mary Magdalene saw him first, and she ran with joy, and said 'she had seen the Lord, and that he was risen from the dead, but they believed her not;—after that, divers women together saw him,' and they told it, but had no thanks for their pains, and obtained no credit among the disciples: the two disciples that went to Emmaus, saw him, talked with him, ate with him, and they ran and told it: they told true, but nobody believed them: then St. Peter saw him, but he was not yet got into the chair of the catholic church, they did not think him infallible, and so they believed him not at all. Five times in one day he appeared; for after all this, he appeared to the eleven: they were indeed transported with joy and wonder; but they would scarce believe their own eyes, and though they saw him, they doubted. Well, all this was not enough; he was seen also of James, and suffered Thomas to thrust his hand into his side, and appeared to St. Paul, and was seen by 'five hundred brethren at once.' So that there is no capacity of mankind, no time, no place, but had an ocular demonstration of his resurrection. He appeared to men and women, to the clergy and the laity, to sinners of both sexes; to weak men and to criminals, to doubters and deniers at home and abroad, in public and in private, in their houses and their journeys, unexpected and by appointment, betimes in the morning and late at night, to them in conjunction and to them in dispersion, when they did look for him and when they did not; he appeared on earth to many, and to St. Paul and St. Stephen from heaven: so that we can require no greater testimony than all these are able to give us; and they saw for themselves and for us too, that the faith and certainty of the resurrection of

Jesus might be conveyed to all that shall die, and follow Christ in their own order.

Now this being matter of fact, cannot be supposed infinite, but limited to time and place, and, therefore, to be proved by them who, at that time, were on the place; good men and true, simple and yet losers by the bargain, many and united, confident and constant, preaching it all their life, and stoutly maintaining it at their death; men that would not deceive others, and men that could not be deceived themselves, in a matter so notorious, and so proved, and so seen: and if this be not sufficient credibility in a matter of fact, as this was, then we can have no story credibly transmitted to us, no records kept, no acts of courts, no narratives of the days of old, no traditions of our fathers, no memorials of them in the third generation. Nay, if from these we have not sufficient causes and arguments of faith, how shall we be able to know the will of Heaven on earth? unless God do not only tell it once, but always, and not only always to some men, but always to all men: for if some men must believe others, they can never do it in any thing more reasonably than in this; and if we may not trust them in this, then, without a perpetual miracle, no man could have faith: for faith could never come by hearing, by nothing but by seeing. But if there be any use of history, any faith in men, any honesty in manners, any truth in human intercourse; if there be any use of Apostles or teachers, of ambassadors or letters, of ears or hearing; if there be any such thing as the grace of faith, that is less than demonstration or intuition; then we may be as sure that Christ, the first fruits, is already risen, as all these credibilities can make us. But let us take heed; as God hates a lie, so he hates incredulity; an obstinate, a foolish, and pertinacious understanding. What we do every minute of our lives, in matters of title and great concernment, if we refuse to do it in religion, which yet is to be conducted, as all human affairs are, by human instruments, and arguments of persuasion proper to the nature of the thing, it is an obstinacy as cross to human reason, as it is to Divine faith.

But this article was so clearly proved, that presently it came to pass that men were no longer ashamed of the cross, but

it was worn on breasts, printed in the air, drawn on foreheads, carried on banners, put on crowns imperial; presently it came to pass that the religion of the despised Jesus did infinitely prevail; a religion that taught men to be meek and humble, apt to receive injuries, but unapt to do any; a religion that gave countenance to the poor and pitiful, in a time when riches were adored, and ambition and pleasure had possessed the heart of all mankind; a religion that would change the face of things, and the hearts of men, and break vile habits into gentleness and counsel; that such a religion, in such a time, by the sermons and conduct of fishermen, men of mean breeding and illiberal arts, should so speedily triumph over the philosophy of the world, and the arguments of the subtle, and the sermons of the eloquent; the power of princes and the interests of states, the inclinations of nature and the blindness of zeal, the force of custom and the solicitation of passions, the pleasures of sin and the busy arts of the devil; that is, against wit and power, superstition and wilfulness, fame and money, nature and empire, which are all the causes in this world that can make a thing impossible; this, this is to be ascribed to the power of God, and is the great demonstration of the resurrection of Jesus. Every thing was an argument for it, and improved it; no objection could hinder it, no enemies destroy it; whatsoever was for them, it made the religion to increase; whatsoever was against them, made it to increase; sunshine and storms, fair weather or foul, it was all one as to the event of things; for they were instruments in the hands of God, who could make what himself should choose to be the product of any cause; so that if the Christians had peace, they went abroad and brought in converts; if they had no peace, but persecution, the converts came in to them. In prosperity, they allured and enticed the world by the beauty of holiness; in affliction and trouble, they amazed all men with the splendor of their innocence and the glories of their patience; and quickly it was that the world became disciple to the glorious Nazarene, and men could no longer doubt of the resurrection of Jesus, when it became so demonstrated by the certainty of them that saw it, and the courage of them that died for it, and the multitude of them that believed it; who, by their sermons and their

actions, by their public offices and discourses, by festivals and eucharists, by arguments of experience and sense, by reason and religion, by persuading rational men, and establishing believing Christians, by their living in the obedience of Jesus, and dying for the testimony of Jesus, have greatly advanced his kingdom, and his power, and his glory, into which he entered after his resurrection from the dead. For he is the first fruits; and if we hope to rise through him, we must confess that himself is first risen from the dead. That is the first particular.

2. There is an order for us also: we also shall rise again:

> Combustusque senex tumulo procedit adultus;
> Consumens dat membra rogus:———

The ashes of old Camillus shall stand up spritely from his urn; and the funeral fires shall produce a new warmth to the dead bones of all those, who died under the arms of all the enemies of the Roman greatness. This is a less wonder than the former; for *admonetur omnis ætas jam fieri posse quod aliquando factum est.* If it was done once, it may be done again: for since it could never have been done but by a Power that is infinite, that infinite must also be eternal and indeficient. By the same Almighty Power, which restored life to the dead body of our living Lord, we may all be restored to a new life in the resurrection of the dead.

When man was not, what power, what causes, made him to be? Whatsoever it was, it did then as great a work as to raise his body to the same being again; and because we know not the method of Nature's secret changes, and how we can be fashioned beneath *in secreto terræ*, and cannot handle and discern the possibilities and seminal powers in the ashes of dissolved bones, must our ignorance in philosophy be put in balance against the articles of religion, the hopes of mankind, the faith of nations, and the truth of God? And are our opinions of the power of God so low, that our understanding must be his measure; and he shall be confessed to do nothing, unless it be made plain in our philosophy? Certainly we have a low opinion of God, unless we believe he can do more things than we can understand: but let us hear St. Paul's demonstration: if the corn dies and lives again; if it lays its body down, suffers

alteration, dissolution, and death, but, at the spring, rises again in the verdure of a leaf, in the fulness of the ear, in the kidneys of wheat; if it proceeds from little to great, from nakedness to ornament, from emptiness to plenty, from unity to multitude, from death to life; be a Sadducee no more, shame not thy understanding, and reproach not the weakness of thy faith, by thinking that corn can be restored to life, and man cannot; especially since, in every creature, the obediential capacity is infinite, and cannot admit degrees; for every creature can be any thing under the power of God, which cannot be less than infinite.

But we find no obscure footsteps of this mystery even amongst the heathens. Pliny reports that Apion, the grammarian, by the use of the plant osiris, called Homer from his grave; and in Valerius Maximus we find that Ælius Tubero returned to life, when he was seated in his funeral pile; and in Plutarch, that Soleus, after three days' burial, did live; and in Valerius, that Eris Pamphylius did so after ten days.* And it was so commonly believed, that Glaucus, who was choked in a vessel of honey, did rise again, that it grew to a proverb, *Glaucus, potomelle, surrexit;* "Glaucus, having tasted honey, died and lived again." I pretend not to believe these stories to be true; but from these instances it may be concluded, that they believed it possible that there should be a resurrection from the dead; and natural reason, and their philosophy, did not wholly destroy their hopes and expectation to have a portion in this article.

For God, knowing that the great hopes of man, that the biggest endearment of religion, the sanction of private justice, the band of piety and holy courage, does wholly derive from the article of the resurrection,—was pleased not only to make it credible, but easy and familiar to us; and we so converse every night with the image of death, that every morning we find an argument of the resurrection. Sleep and death have but one mother, and they have one name in common.

> Soles occidere et redire possunt:
> Nobis, cum semel occidit brevis lux,
> Nox est perpetua una dormienda.†

* Lib. i. c. 8. Helfrecht, p. 71. † Catull. v. 4.

Charnel-houses are but κοιμητήρια, "cemeteries" or sleeping-places; and they that die are fallen asleep, and the resurrection is but an awakening and standing up from sleep: but in sleep our senses are as fast bound by Nature, as our joints are by the grave-clothes; and unless an angel of God waken us every morning, we must confess ourselves as unable to converse with men, as we now are afraid to die and to converse with spirits. But, however, death itself is no more; it is but darkness and a shadow, a rest and a forgetfulness. What is there more in death? What is there less in sleep? For do we not see by experience that nothing of equal loudness does awaken us sooner than a man's voice, especially if he be called by name? and thus also it shall be in the resurrection: we shall be awakened by the voice of a man, and he that called Lazarus by name from his grave, shall also call us; for although St. Paul affirms, 'that the trumpet shall sound, and there shall be the voice of an archangel;' yet this is not a word of nature, but of office and ministry: Christ himself is that archangel, and he shall 'descend with a mighty shout,' saith the Apostle;* and 'all that are in the grave shall hear his voice,' saith St. John:† so that we shall be awakened by the voice of man, because we are only fallen asleep by the decree of God; and when the cock and the lark call us up to prayer and labor, the first thing we see is an argument of our resurrection from the dead. And when we consider what the Greek church reports,—that amongst them the bodies of those that die excommunicate will not return to dust till the censure be taken off;—we may, with a little faith and reason, believe, that the same power that keeps them from their natural dissolution, can recall them to life and union. I will not now insist on the story of the rising bones seen every year in Egypt, nor the pretences of the chemists, that they, from the ashes of flowers, can reproduce, from the same materials, the same beauties in color and figure; for he that proves a certain truth from an uncertain argument, is like him that wears a wooden-leg, when he hath two sound legs already; it hinders his going, but helps him not: the truth of

* 1 Thes. iv. 16. † John, v. 28.

God stands not in need of such supporters; nature alone is a sufficient preacher:

> Quæ nunc herba fuit, lignum jacet, herba futura,
> Aëriæ nudantur aves cum penna vetusta,
> Et nova subvestit reparatas pluma volucres.*

Night and day; the sun returning to the same point of east; every change of species in the same matter; generation and corruption; the eagle renewing her youth, and the snake her skin; the silk-worm and the swallows; the care of posterity, and the care of an immortal name; winter and summer; the fall and spring; the Old Testament and the New; the words of Job, and the visions of the prophets; the prayer of Ezekiel for the resurrection of the men of Ephraim, and the return of Jonas from the whale's belly; the histories of the Jews and the narratives of Christians; the faith of believers and the philosophy of the reasonable;—all join in the verification of this mystery. And amongst these heaps, it is not of the least consideration, that there was never any good man, who having been taught this article, but if he served God, he also relied on this. If he believed God, he believed this; and therefore St. Paul says, that they who were ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες, were also ἄθεοι ἐν κόσμῳ, 'they who had no hope' (meaning of the resurrection) 'were also atheists, and without God in the world.' And it is remarkable what St. Austin observes, that when the world saw the righteous Abel destroyed, and that the murderer outlived his crime, and built up a numerous family, and grew mighty on earth,—they neglected the service of God on that account, till God, in pity of their prejudice and foolish arguings, took Enoch up to heaven to recover them from their impieties, by showing them that their bodies and souls should be rewarded for ever in an eternal union. But Christ, the first fruits, is gone before; and himself did promise, that when himself was lifted up, he would draw all men after him: 'Every man in his own order; first Christ, then they that are Christ's at his coming.' And so I have done with the second particular; not Christ only, but we also shall rise in God's time and our order.

* Dracontius de Opere Dei.

But concerning this order I must speak a word or two, not only for the fuller handling the text, but because it will be matter of application of what hath been already spoken of the article of the resurrection.

3. First Christ, and then we; and we, therefore, because Christ is already risen: but you must remember, that the resurrection and exaltation of Christ was the reward of his perfect obedience and purest holiness; and he calling us to an imitation of the same obedience, and the same perfect holiness, prepares a way for us to the same resurrection. If we, by holiness, become the sons of God, as Christ was, we shall also, as he was, become the sons of God in the resurrection: but on no other terms. So said our blessed Lord himself: 'Ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit on thrones judging the tribes of Israel.'* For as it was with Christ the first fruits, so it shall be with all Christians in their own order: as with the head, so it shall be with the members. He was the Son of God by love and obedience, and then became the Son of God by resurrection from the dead to life eternal, and so shall we; but we cannot be so in any other way. To them that are Christ's, and to none else, shall this be given; for we must know that God hath sent Christ into the world to be a great example and demonstration of the economy and dispensation of eternal life. As God brought Christ to glory, so he will bring us, but by no other method. He first obeyed the will of God, and patiently suffered the will of God; he died and rose again, and entered into glory; and so must we. Thus Christ is made *via, veritas, et vita,* 'the way, the truth, and the life;' that is, the true way to eternal life: he first trod this wine-press, and we must insist in the same steps, or we shall never partake of this blessed resurrection. He was made the Son of God in a most glorious manner, and we by him, by his merit, and by his grace, and by his example; but other than this there is no way of salvation for us; that is the first and great effect of this glorious order.

4. But there is one thing more in it yet: 'Every man in his

* Luke, xiv. 14.

own order; first Christ, and then they that are Christ's:' but what shall become of them that are not Christ's? why there is an order for them too: first, 'they that are Christ's; and then they that are not his:' 'Blessed and holy is he that hath his part in the first resurrection:'* there is a first and a second resurrection even after this life; 'The dead in Christ shall rise first:'† now blessed are they that have their portion here; 'for on these the second death shall have no power.' As for the recalling the wicked from their graves, it is no otherwise in the sense of the Spirit to be called a resurrection, than taking a criminal from the prison to the bar is a giving of liberty. When poor Acilius Aviola had been seized on by an apoplexy, his friends, supposing him dead, carried him to his funeral pile; but when the fire began to approach, and the heat to warm the body, he revived, and seeing himself encircled with funeral flames, called out aloud to his friends to rescue, not the dead, but the living Aviola from that horrid burning: but it could not be; he only was restored from his sickness to fall into death, and from his dull disease to a sharp and intolerable torment.‡ Just so shall the wicked live again; they shall receive their souls, that they may be a portion for devils; they shall receive their bodies, that they may feel the everlasting burning; they shall see Christ, that they may 'look on him whom they have pierced;' and they shall hear the voice of God passing on them the intolerable sentence; they shall come from their graves, that they may go into hell; and live again, that they may die for ever. So have we seen a poor condemned criminal, the weight of whose sorrows sitting heavily on his soul, hath benumbed him into a deep sleep, till he hath forgotten his groans, and laid aside his deep sighings; but, on a sudden, comes the messenger of death, and unbinds the poppy garland, scatters the heavy cloud that encircled his miserable head, and makes him return to acts of life, that he may quickly descend into death and be no more. So is every sinner that lies down in shame, and makes his grave with the wicked: he shall indeed rise again, and be called on by the voice of the archangel; but then he shall descend into sorrows greater than the reason and the

* Rev. xx. 6. † 1 Thess. iv. 16. ‡ Plin. vii. 52.

patience of a man, weeping and shrieking louder than the groans of the miserable children in the valley of Hinnom.

These, indeed, are sad stories, but true as the voice of God, and the sermons of the holy Jesus. They are God's words, and God's decrees; and I wish that all who profess the belief of these, would consider sadly what they mean. If ye believe the article of the resurrection, then you know that, in your body, you shall receive what you did in the body, whether it be good or bad. It matters not now very much, whether our bodies be beauteous or deformed; for if we glorify God in our bodies, God shall make our bodies glorious. It matters not much whether we live in ease and pleasure, or eat nothing but bitter herbs; the body that lies in dust and ashes, that goes stooping and feeble, that lodges at the foot of the cross, and dwells in discipline, shall be feasted at the eternal supper of the Lamb. And ever remember this, that beastly pleasures, and lying lips, and a deceitful tongue, and a heart that sendeth forth proud things, are no good dispositions to a blessed resurrection.

Οὐ καλὸν ἁρμονίην ἀναλυέμεν ἀνθρώποιο·

"It is not good that in the body we live a life of dissolution, for that is no good harmony with that purpose of glory which God designs the body."

Καὶ τάχα δ' ἐκ γαίης ἐλπίζομεν ἐς φάος ἐλθεῖν
Λείψαν' ἀποιχομένων· ὀπίσω δὲ θεοὶ τελέθονται,

said Phocylides;* "for we hope that from our beds of darkness we shall rise into regions of light, and shall become like unto God:" they shall partake of a resurrection to life; and what this can infer is very obvious: for if it be so hard to believe a resurrection from one death, let us not be dead in trespasses and sins; for a resurrection from two deaths will be harder to be believed, and harder to be effected. But if any of you have lost the life of grace, and so forfeited all your title to a life of glory, betake yourselves to an early and an intire piety, that when, by this first resurrection, you have made this way plain before your face, you may with confidence expect a happy

* Gaisford, p. 452.

resurrection from your graves: for if it be possible that the Spirit, when it is dead in sin, can arise to a life of righteousness; much more it is easy to suppose, that the body, after death, is capable of being restored again: and this is a consequent of St. Paul's argument: 'If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled by his death, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life;'* plainly declaring, that it is a harder and more wonderful thing for a wicked man to become the friend of God, than for one that is so to be carried up to heaven and partake of his glory. The first resurrection is certainly the greater miracle; but he that hath risen once, may rise again; and this is as sure as that he that dies once, may die again, and die for ever. But he who partakes of the death of Christ by mortification, and of his resurrection by holiness of life and a holy faith, shall, according to the expression of the prophet Isaiah, 'enter into his chamber of death,'† when Nature and God's decree 'shall shut the doors on him, and there he shall be hidden for a little moment:' but then shall they that dwell in dust, awake and sing; with Christ's dead body shall they arise; all shall rise, but 'every man in his own order; Christ the first fruits, then they that are Christ's at his coming.' Amen.

I have now done with my meditation of the resurrection; but we have had a new and a sadder subject to consider. It is glorious and brave when a Christian contemplates those glories, which stand at the foot of the account of all God's servants; but when we consider, that before all, or any thing of this happens, every Christian must twice *exuere hominem*, 'put off the old man,' and then lie down in dust, and the dishonors of the grave; it is *vinum myrrhatum*, there is "myrrh put into our wine;" it is wholesome, but it will allay all our pleasures of that glorious expectation: but no man can escape it. After that the great Cyrus had ruled long in a mighty empire, yet there came a message from heaven, not so sad it may be, yet as decretory as the hand-writing on the wall that arrested his successor Darius, Συσκευάζου, ὦ Κῦρε· ἤδη γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς ἄπει, "Prepare thyself, O Cyrus, and then go unto the gods;"‡ he

* Rom. v. 10. † Isai. xxvi. 20.

‡ Cyrop. viii. 7. 2. Schneider.

laid aside his tire and his beauteous diadem, and covered his face with a cloth, and in a single linen laid his honored head in a poor humble grave: and none of us all can avoid this sentence: for if wit and learning, great fame and great experience, if wise notices of things and an honorable fortune, if courage and skill, if prelacy and an honorable age, if any thing that could give greatness and immunity to a wise and prudent man, could have been put in bar against a sad day, and have gone for good plea, this sad scene of sorrows had not been the entertainment of this assembly. But tell me, Where are those great masters, who, while they lived, florished in their studies? *Jam eorum præbendas alii possident, et neseio utrum de iis cogitant;* "other men have got their prebends and their dignities, and who knows whether ever they remember them or no?" While they lived, they seemed nothing; when they are dead, every man for a while speaks of them what they please; and afterwards they are as if they had not been. But the piety of the Christian church hath made some little provision towards an artificial immortality for brave and worthy persons; and the friendships which our dead contracted while they were alive, require us to continue a fair memory as long as we can; but they expire in monthly minds, or at most in a faint and declining anniversary;

——————— ἐπεὶ φίλος, ὅστις ἑταίρου
Μέμνηται κταμένοιο καὶ ἄχνυται οὐτ' ἔτ' ἐόντος.

And we have great reason so to do in this present sad accident of the death of our late most reverend primate, whose death the church of Ireland hath very great reason to deplore; and we have great obligation to remember his very many worthy deeds, done for this poor, afflicted, and despised church. St. Paul made an excellent funeral oration, as it were instituting a feast of all saints, who all died 'having obtained a good report:'* and that excellent preacher made a sermon of their commemoration. For since good men, while they are alive, have their conversation in heaven; when they are in heaven, it is also fit that they should, in their good names, live on earth: and

* Hebrews, xi. 39.

as their great examples are an excellent sermon to the living, and the praising them, when envy and flattery can have no interest to interpose, as it is the best and most vigorous sermon and incentive to great things; so to conceal what good God hath wrought by them, is great unthankfulness to God and to good men.

When Dorcas died, the Apostle came to see the dead corpse, and the friends of the deceased expressed their grief and their love, by showing the coats that she, whilst she lived, wrought with her own hands: she was a good needle-woman and a good housewife, and did good to mankind in her little way, and that itself ought not to be forgotten; and the Apostle himself was not displeased with their little sermons, and that εὐφημισμὸς which the women made on that sad interview. But if we may have the same liberty to record the worthy things of this our most venerable father and brother, and if there remains no more of that envy which usually obscures the splendor of living heroes; if you can with your charitable, though weeping eyes, behold the great gifts of God with which he adorned this great prelate, and not object the failings of humanity to the participation of the graces of the Spirit, or think that God's gifts are the less because they are born in earthen vessels, πάντες γὰρ κλυτὰ δῶρα κερασσάμενοι φορέουσιν, for all men bear mortality about them, and the cabinet is not so beauteous as the diamond that shines within its bosom; then we may, without interruption, pay this duty to piety, and friendship, and thankfulness; and deplore our sad loss by telling a true and sad story of this great man, whom God hath lately taken from our eyes.

He was bred in Cambridge, in Sidney College, under Mr. Hulet, a grave and a worthy man; and he showed himself not only a fruitful plant by his great progress in his studies, but made him another return of gratitude, taking care to provide a good employment for him in Ireland, where he then began to be greatly interested. It was spoken as an honor to Augustus Cæsar, that he gave his tutor an honorable funeral; and Marcus Antoninus erected a statue unto his; and Gratian the emperor made his master Ausonius to be consul: and our worthy primate, knowing the obligation which they pass on us, who

do *obstetricare gravidæ animæ*, "help the parturient soul" to bring forth fruits according to its seminal powers, was careful not only to reward the industry of such persons, so useful to the church in the cultivating *infantes palmarum*, "young plants," whose joints are to be stretched and made straight; but to demonstrate that his scholar knew how to value learning, when he knew so well how to reward the teacher.

Having passed the course of his studies in the university, and done his exercise with that applause which is usually the reward of pregnant wit and hard study, he was removed into Yorkshire, where first, in the city of York, he was an assiduous preacher; but, by the disposition of the divine providence, he happened to be engaged at Northallerton in disputation with three pragmatical Romish priests of the Jesuits' order, whom he so much worsted in the conference, and so shamefully disadvantaged by the evidence of truth, represented wisely and learnedly, that the famous primate of York, archbishop Matthews, a learned and an excellent prelate, and a most worthy preacher, hearing of that triumph, sent for him, and made him his chaplain; in whose service he continued till the death of the primate, but, in that time had given so much testimony of his dexterity in the conduct of ecclesiastical and civil affairs, that he grew dear to his master. In that employment he was made prebendary of York, and then of Ripon, the dean of which church having made him his subdean, he managed the affairs of that church so well, that he soon acquired a greater fame, and entered into the possession of many hearts, and admiration to those many more that knew him. There and at his parsonage he continued long to do the duty of a learned and good preacher, and by his wisdom, eloquence, and deportment, so gained the affections of the nobility, gentry, and commons of that county, that at his return thither on the blessed restoration of his most sacred majesty, he knew himself obliged enough, and was so kind as to give them a visit; so they, by their coming in great numbers to meet him, their joyful reception of him, their great caressing of him when he was there, their forward hopes to enjoy him as their bishop, their trouble at his departure, their unwillingness to let him go away,

gave signal testimonies that they were wise and kind enough to understand and value his great worth.

But while he lived there, he was like a diamond in the dust, or Lucius Quinctius at the plough: his low fortune covered a most valuable person, till he became observed by Sir Thomas Wentworth, lord-president of York, whom we all knew for his great excellences, and his great but glorious misfortunes. This rare person espied the great abilities of Doctor Bramhall, and made him his chaplain, and brought him into Ireland, as one who, he believed, would prove the most fit instrument to serve in that design, which, for two years before his arrival here, he had greatly meditated and resolved, the reformation of religion, and the reparation of the broken fortunes of the church. The complaints were many, the abuses great, the causes of the church vastly numerous; but as fast as they were brought in, so fast they were by the lord-deputy referred back to Dr. Bramhall, who, by his indefatigable pains, great sagacity, perpetual watchfulness, daily and hourly consultations, reduced things to a more tolerable condition than they had been left in by the schismatical principles of some, and the unjust prepossessions of others, for many years before: for at the reformation, the popish bishops and priests seemed to conform, and did so, that keeping their bishoprics they might enrich their kindred and dilapidate the revenues of the church, which by pretended offices, false informations, fee-farms at contemptible rents, and ungodly alienations, were made low as poverty itself, and unfit to minister to the needs of them that served the altar, or the noblest purposes of religion: for hospitality decayed, and the bishops were easy to be oppressed by those that would; and they complained, but for a long time had no helper, till God raised up that glorious instrument the earl of Strafford, who brought over with him as great affections to the church and to all public interests, and as admirable abilities, as ever before his time did invest and adorn any of the king's vicegerents; and God fitted his hand with an instrument good as his skill was great; for the first specimen of his abilities and diligence in recovery of some lost tithes, being represented to his late majesty, of blessed and glorious memory, it pleased his

majesty, on the death of bishop Downham, to advance the doctor to the bishopric of Derry, which he not only adorned with an excellent spirit and a wise government, but did more than double the revenue, not by taking any thing from them to whom it was due, but by resuming something of the church's patrimony, which by undue means was detained in unfitting hands.

But his care was beyond his diocese, and his zeal broke out to warm all his brethren; and, though by reason of the favor and piety of king James, the escheated counties were well provided for their tithes, yet the bishoprics were not so well, till the primate, then bishop of Derry, by the favor of the lord-lieutenant and his own incessant and assiduous labor and wise conduct, brought in divers impropriations, cancelled many unjust alienations, and did restore them to a condition much more tolerable: I say much more tolerable; for though he raised them above contempt, yet they were not near to envy; but he knew there could not in all times be wanting too many, that envied to the church every degree of prosperity: so Judas did to Christ the expense of ointment; and so Dionysius told the priest, when himself stole the golden cloak from Apollo, and gave him one of the Arcadian home-spun, that it was warmer for him in winter and cooler in summer. And for ever since, the church, by God's blessing and the favor of religious kings and princes, and pious nobility, hath been endowed with fair revenues, *inimicus homo*, "the enemy," hath not been wanting, by pretences of religion, to take away God's portion from the church, as if his word were intended as an instrument to rob his houses. But when the Israelites were governed by a θεοκρατία, and 'God was their king,' and Moses his lieutenant, and things were of his management,—he was pleased, by making great provisions for them that ministered in the service of the tabernacle, to consign this truth for ever;—that men, as they love God, at the same rate are to make provisions for his priests. For when himself did it, he not only gave the forty-eight cities, with a mile of glebe round about their city every way, and yet the whole country was but a hundred and forty miles long, or thereabouts, from Dan to Beersheba; but beside this, they had the tithe of all increase, the first fruits, offerings,

vows, redemptions, and, in short, they had twenty-four sorts of dues, as Buxtorf relates; and all this either brought to the barn home to them without trouble, or else, as the nature of the thing required, brought to the temple; the first to make it more profitable, and the second to declare that they received it not from the people but from God, not the people's kindness but the Lord's inheritance: insomuch that this small tribe of Levi, which was not the fortieth part of the people, as the Scripture computes them, had a revenue almost treble to any of the largest of the tribes.* I will not insist on what Villalpandus observes:† it may easily be read in the 45th of Ezekiel, concerning that portion which God reserves for himself and his service; but whatsoever it be, this shall I say, that is confessedly a prophecy of the gospel; but this I add, that they had as little to do, and much less, than a Christian priest; and yet in all the twenty-four courses the poorest priest among them might be esteemed a rich man.‡ I speak not this to upbraid any man, or any thing but sacrilege and murmur, nor to any other end but to represent on what great and religious grounds the then bishop of Derry did, with so much care and assiduous labor, endeavour to restore the church of Ireland to that splendor and fulness, which, as it is much conducing to the honor of God and of religion, God himself being the judge; so it is much more necessary for you than it is for us; and so this wise prelate rarely well understood it; and having the same advantage and blessing as we now have, a gracious king, and a lieutenant, patron of religion and the church, he improved the *deposita pietatis*, as Origen calls them,§ "the gages of piety," which the religion of the ancient princes and nobles of this kingdom had bountifully given to such a comfortable competency, that though there be place left for present and future piety to large itself, yet no man hath reason to be discouraged in his duty; insomuch that as I have heard from a most worthy hand, that at his going into England he gave account to the archbishop of Canterbury of 30,000*l.* a year, in the recovery of which he was greatly and principally instru-

* Numb. i. 46. iii. 39. † Seld. Hist. of Tithes, c. 2.

‡ See Philo, Περὶ τοῦ τινὰ γέρα ἱερέων.

§ Tract. 25. in S. Matth.

mental. But the goods of this world are called 'waters' by Solomon: stolen waters are sweet, and they are too unstable to be stopped: some of these waters did run back from their proper channel, and return to another course than God and the laws intended; yet his labors and pious counsels were not the less acceptable to God and good men; and therefore by a thankful and honorable recognition, the convocation of the church of Ireland has transmitted in record to posterity their deep resentment of his singular services and great abilities in this whole affair. And this honor will for ever remain to that bishop of Derry: he had a Zerubbabel who repaired the temple and restored its beauty; but he was the Joshua, the high-priest, who under him ministered this blessing to the congregations of the Lord.

But his care was not determined in the exterior part only, and accessaries of religion; he was careful, and he was prosperous in it, to reduce that divine and excellent service of our church to public and constant exercise, to unity and devotion; and to cause the articles of the church of England to be accepted as the rule of public confessions and persuasions here, that they and we might be *populus unius labii*, "of one heart and one lip," building up our hopes of heaven on a most holy faith; and taking away that Shibboleth which made this church lisp too undecently, or rather, in some little degree, to speak the speech of Ashdod, and not the language of Canaan: and the excellent and wise pains he took in this particular no man can dehonestate or reproach, but he that is not willing to confess that the church of England is the best reformed church in the world. But when the brave Roman infantry, under the conduct of Manlius, ascended up to the capitol to defend religion and the altars from the fury of the Gauls, they all prayed to God, *Ut quemadmodum ipsi ad defendendum templum ejus concurrissent, ita ille virtutem eorum numine suo tueretur:* "that as they came to defend his temple by their arms, so he would defend their persons and that cause with his power and divinity." And this excellent man in the cause of religion found the like blessing which they prayed for; God, by the prosperity of his labors and a blessed effect, gave testimony not only of the piety and wisdom of his purposes, but that he loves to bless a wise instrument, when it is vigorously em-

ployed in a wise and religious labor. He overcame the difficulty in defiance of all such pretences, as were made even from religion itself, to obstruct the better procedure of real and material religion.

These were great things and matter of great envy, and like the fiery eruptions of Vesuvius, might, with the very ashes of consumption, have buried another man. At first indeed, as his blessed Master, the most holy Jesus, had, so he also had his *annum acceptabilem.* At first the product was nothing but great admiration at his stupendous parts, and wonder at his mighty diligence and observation of his unusual zeal in so good and great things; but this quickly passed into the natural daughters of envy, suspicion, and detraction, the spirit of obloquy and slander. His zeal for recovery of the church revenues was called oppression and rapine, covetousness and injustice; his care of reducing religion to wise and justifiable principles was called popery and Arminianism, and I know not what names, which signify what the authors are pleased to mean, and the people to construe and to hate. The intermedial prosperity of his person and fortune, which he had as an earnest of a greater reward to so well-meant labors, was supposed to be the production of illiberal arts and ways of getting; and the necessary refreshment of his wearied spirits, which did not always supply all his needs, and were sometimes less than the permissions even of prudent charity, they called intemperance: *Dederunt enim malum Metelli Nævio poëtæ;* their own surmises were the bills of accusation; and the splendor of his great ἀγαθοεργία, or "doing of good works," was the great probation of all their calamities. But if envy be the accuser, what can be the defences of innocence?

> Saucior invidiæ morsu; quærenda medela est:
> Dic quibus in terris sentiet æger opem.

Our blessed Saviour, knowing the unsatisfiable angers of men if their money or estates were meddled with, refused to divide an inheritance amongst brethren: it was not to be imagined that this great person (invested, as all his brethren were, with the infirmities of mortality, and yet employed in dividing, and recovering, and apportioning of lands) should be able to bear

all that reproach, which jealousy and suspicion and malicious envy could invent against him. But ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν πολλὰ μανθάνουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ, said Sophocles: and so did he; the affrightments brought to his great fame and reputation made him to walk more warily, and do justly, and act prudently, and conduct his affairs by the measures of laws, as far as he understood, and indeed that was a very great way: but there was *aperta justitia, clausa manus*, "justice was open, but his hand was shut;" and, though every slanderer could tell a story, yet none could prove that ever he received "a bribe to blind his eyes, to the value of a pair of gloves:" it was his own expression, when he gave glory to God who had preserved him innocent. But, because every man's cause is right in his own eyes, it was hard for him so to acquit himself, that in the intrigues of law and difficult cases, some of his enemies should not seem (when they were heard alone) to speak reason against him. But see the greatness of truth and prudence, and how greatly God stood with him. When the numerous armies of vexed people,

Turba gravis paci, placidæque inimica quieti,*

heaped up catalogues of accusations, when the parliament of Ireland, imitating the violent procedures of the then disordered English, when his glorious patron was taken from his head, and he was disrobed of his great defences; when petitions were invited and accusations furnished, and calumny was rewarded and managed with art and power, when there were above two hundred petitions put in against him, and himself denied leave to answer by word of mouth; when he was long imprisoned, and treated so that a guilty man would have been broken into affrightment and pitiful and low considerations; yet then he himself, standing almost alone, like Callimachus at Marathon, invested with enemies and covered with arrows, defended himself beyond all the powers of guiltiness, even with the defences of truth and the bravery of innocence, and answered the petitions in writing, sometimes twenty in a day, with so much clearness, evidence of truth, reality of fact, and testimony of law,

* Mart. de Spect. 4.

that his very enemies were ashamed and convinced; they found they had done like Æsop's viper, they licked the file till their tongues bled; but himself was wholly invulnerable. They were therefore forced to leave their muster-rolls and decline the particulars, and fall to their ἓν μέγα, to accuse him for going about to subvert the fundamental laws, the way by which great Strafford and Canterbury fell; which was a device, when all reasons failed, to oppress the enemy by the bold affirmation of a conclusion they could not prove: they did like those *gladiatores* whom the Romans called *retiarii:* when they could not stab their enemy with their daggers, they threw nets over him, and covered him with a general mischief. But the martyr king Charles the first, of most glorious and eternal memory, seeing so great a champion likely to be oppressed with numbers and despair, sent what rescue he could, his royal letter for his bail, which was hardly granted to him; and when it was, it was on such hard terms, that his very delivery was a persecution. So necessary it was for them, who intended to do mischief to the public, to take away the strongest pillars of the house. This thing I remark to acquit this great man from the tongue of slander, which had so boldly spoken, that it was certain something would stick; yet was so impotent and unarmed, that it could not kill that great fame, which his greater worthiness had procured him. It was said of Hippasus the Pythagorean, that being asked how and what he had done, he answered, *Nondum nihil; neque enim adhuc mihi invidetur;* "I have done nothing yet, for no man envies me." He that does great things, cannot avoid the tongues and teeth of envy; but if calumnies must pass for evidences, the bravest heroes must always be the most reproached persons in the world.

> Nascitur Ætolicus, pravum ingeniosus ad omne;
> Qui facere assuerat, patriæ non degener artis,
> Candida de nigris, et de candentibus atra.

Every thing can have an ill name and an ill sense put on it; but God, who takes care of reputations as he does of lives, by the orders of his Providence confutes the slander, *ut memoria justorum sit in benedictionibus,* "that the memory of the righteous man might be embalmed with honor;" and so it

happened to this great man; for by a public warranty, by the concurrent consent of both houses of parliament, the libellous petitions against him, the false records and public monuments of injurious shame, were cancelled, and he was restored, *in integrum*, to that fame where his great labors and just procedures had first estated him; which, though it was but justice, yet it was also such honor, that it is greater than the virulence of tongues, which his worthiness and their envy had armed against him.

But yet the great scene of the troubles was but newly opened. I shall not refuse to speak yet more of his troubles, as remembering that St. Paul, when he discourses of the glories of the saints departed, he tells more of their sufferings than of their prosperities, as being that laboratory and crucible, in which God makes his servants vessels of honor to his glory. The storm quickly grew high; *et transitum est a linguis ad gladios;* and that was indeed ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὅπλα, "Iniquity had put on arms:" when it is *armata nequitia*, then a man is hard put to it. The rebellion breaking out, the bishop went to his charge at Derry; and because he was within the defence of walls, the execrable traitor, Sir Phelim O'Neale, laid a snare to bring him to a dishonorable death; for he wrote a letter to the bishop, pretended intelligence between them, and desired that, according to their former agreement, such a gate might be delivered to him. The messenger was not advised to be cautious, nor at all instructed in the art of secrecy; for it was intended that he should be searched, intercepted, and hanged for aught they cared: but the arrow was shot against the bishop, that he might be accused for base conspiracy, and die with shame and sad dishonor. But here God manifested his mighty care of his servants; he was pleased to send into the heart of the messenger such an affrightment, that he directly ran away with the letter, and never durst come near the town to deliver it. This story was published by Sir Phelim himself, who added, that if he could have thus ensnared the bishop, he had good assurance the town should have been his own: *Sed bonitas Dei prævalitura est super omnem malitiam hominis;* "The goodness of God is greater than all the malice of men;" and nothing could so prove how dear that sacred life was to God, as his rescue

from the dangers. *Stantia non poterant tecta probare Deos:** "To have kept him in a warm house had been nothing, unless the roof had fallen on his head:" that rescue was a remark of Divine favor and providence. But it seems Sir Phelim's treason against the life of this worthy man had a correspondent in the town; and it broke out speedily: for what they could not effect by malicious stratagem, they did in part by open force; they turned the bishop out of the town, and, on trifling and unjust pretences, searched his carriages, and took what they pleased, till they were ashamed to take more: they did worse than divorce him from his church; for in all the Roman divorces they said, *Tuas tibi res habeto*, "Take your goods and be gone;" but plunder was religion then. However, though the usage was sad, yet it was recompensed to him by his taking sanctuary in Oxford, where he was graciously received by that most incomparable and divine prince; but having served the king in Yorkshire, by his pen, and by his counsels, and by his interests, he returned back to Ireland, where, under the excellent conduct of his grace the now lord-lieutenant, he ran the risk and fortune of oppressed virtue.

But God having still resolved to afflict us, the good man was forced into the fortune of the patriarchs, to leave his country and his charges, and seek for safety and bread in a strange land; for so the prophets were used to do, wandering up and down in sheep's clothing: but poor as they were, the world was not worthy of them; and this worthy man, despising the shame, took up his cross and followed his Master.

> Exilium causa ipsa jubet sibi dulce videri,
> Et desiderium dulce levat patriæ.

He was not ashamed to suffer, where the cause was honorable and glorious; but so God provided for the needs of his banished, and sent a man who could minister comfort to the afflicted, and courage to the persecuted, and resolutions to the tempted, and strength to that religion for which they all suffered.

And here this great man was indeed triumphant; this was one of the last and best scenes of his life: ἡμέραι γὰρ ἐπίλογοι

* Mart. i. 13. 12.

μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι, "The last days are the best witnesses of a man." But so it was, that he stood up in public and brave defence for the doctrine and discipline of the church of England; first, by his sufferings and great example; for, *Verbis tantum philosophari, non est doctoris, sed histrionis;* "To talk well, and not to do bravely, is for a comedian, not a divine:" but this great man did both; he suffered his own calamity with great courage, and, by his wise discourses, strengthened the heart of others.

For there wanted no diligent tempters in the church of Rome, who, taking advantage of the afflictions of his sacred majesty, in which state men commonly suspect every thing, and like men in sickness are willing to change from side to side, hoping for ease and finding none, flew at royal game, and hoped to draw away the king from that religion which his most royal father, the best man and the wisest prince in the world, had sealed with the best blood in Christendom, and which himself sucked in with his education, and had confirmed by choice and reason, and confessed publicly and bravely, and hath since restored prosperously. Millitiere was the man, witty and bold enough to attempt a zealous and a foolish undertaking, who addressed himself with ignoble, indeed, but witty arts, to persuade the king to leave what was dearer to him than his eyes. It is true, it was a wave dashed against a rock, and an arrow shot against the sun, it could not reach him; but the bishop of Derry turned it also, and made it fall on the shooter's head; for he made so ingenious, so learned, and so acute reply to that book; he so discovered the errors of the Roman church, retorted the arguments, stated the questions, demonstrated the truth, and shamed their procedures, that nothing could be a greater argument of the bishop's learning, great parts, deep judgment, quickness of apprehension, and sincerity in the catholic and apostolic faith; or of the follies and prevarications of the church of Rome. He wrote no apologies for himself, though it were much to be wished that, as Junius wrote his own life, or Moses his own story, so we might have understood from himself how great things God had done for him and by him: but all that he permitted to God, and was silent in his own defences; *Gloriosius enim est injuriam tacendo fugere,*

quam respondendo superare: but when the honor and conscience of his king, and the interest of a true religion was at stake, 'the fire burned within him, and at last he spake with his tongue;' he cried out, like the son of Crœsus, Ὦνθρωπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον,* "Take heed, and meddle not with the king:" his person is too sacred, and religion too dear to him, to be assaulted by vulgar hands. In short, he acquitted himself in this affair with so much truth and piety, learning and judgment, that in those papers his memory will last until very late succeeding generations.

But this most reverend prelate found a nobler adversary, and a braver scene for his contention: he found that the Roman priests, being wearied and baffled by the wise discourses and pungent arguments of the English divines, had studiously declined any more to dispute the particular questions against us, but fell at last on a general charge, imputing to the church of England the great crime of schism; and by this they thought they might with most probability deceive unwary and unskilful readers; for they saw the schism, and they saw we had left them; and because they considered not the causes, they resolved to outface us in the charge; but now it was that, *dignum nactus argumentum*, "having an argument fit" to employ his great abilities,

> Consecrat hic præsul calamum calamique labores,
> Ante aras Domino læta tropæa suo;

"the bishop now dedicates his labors to the service of God" and of his church, undertakes the question, and in a full discourse proves the church of Rome not only to be guilty of the schism, by making it necessary to depart from them; but they did actuate the schisms, and themselves made the first separation in the great point of the pope's supremacy, which was the palladium for which they principally contended. He made it appear that the popes of Rome were usurpers of the rights of kings and bishops; that they brought in new doctrines in every age, that they imposed their own devices on Christendom as articles of faith, that they prevaricated the doctrines of the

* Herod. i. 85. Schweig.

Apostles, that the church of England only returned to her primitive purity, that she joined with Christ and his Apostles, that she agreed in all the sentiments of the primitive church. He stated the questions so wisely, and conducted them so prudently, and handled them so learnedly, that I may truly say, they never were more materially confuted by any man, since the questions have so unhappily disturbed Christendom. *Verum hoc eos male ussit:* and they, finding themselves smitten under the fifth rib, set up an old champion of their own, a Goliath to fight against the armies of Israel: the old bishop of Chalcedon, known to many of us, replied to this excellent book; but was so answered by a rejoinder made by the lord bishop of Derry, in which he so pressed the former arguments, refuted the cavils, brought in so many impregnable authorities and probations, and added so many moments and weights to his discourse, that the pleasures of reading the book would be the greatest, if the profit to the church of God were not greater.

> Flumina jam lactis, jam flumina nectaris ibant,
> Flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella.*

For so Samson's riddle was again expounded, 'Out of the strong came meat, and out of the eater came sweetness.' His arguments were strong, and the eloquence was sweet and delectable; and though there started up another combatant against him, yet he had only the honor to fall by the hands of Hector: still *hæret lateri lethalis arundo;* the headed arrow went in so far, that it could not be drawn out but the barbed steel stuck behind: and whenever men will desire to be satisfied in those great questions, the bishop of Derry's book shall be his oracle.

I will not insist on his other excellent writings; but it is known every where with what piety and acumen he wrote against the Manichean doctrine of "fatal necessity," which a late witty man had pretended to adorn with a new vizor: but this excellent person washed off the ceruse and the meretricious paintings, rarely well asserted the economy of the Divine Providence, and having once more triumphed over his adversary, *plenus victoriarum et tropæorum,* betook himself to the more

* Ovid. Met. i. 111.

agreeable attendance on sacred offices; and having usefully and wisely discoursed of the sacred rite of confirmation, imposed his hands on the most illustrious princes, the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the princess royal, and ministered to them the promise of the Holy Spirit, and ministerially established them in the religion and service of the holy Jesus. And one thing more I shall remark; that at his leaving those parts on the king's return, some of the remonstrant ministers of the Low Countries coming to take their leaves of this great man, and desiring that by his means the church of England would be kind to them, he had reason to grant it, because they were learned men, and in many things of a most excellent belief; yet he reproved them, and gave them caution against it, that they approached too near and gave too much countenance to the great and dangerous errors of the Socinians.

He thus having served God and the king abroad, God was pleased to return to the king and to us all, as in the days of old, and we sang the song of David, *In convertendo captivitatem Sion*, when king David and all his servants returned to Jerusalem. This great person having trod in the wine-press, was called to drink of the wine, and, as an honorary reward of his great services and abilities, was chosen primate of this national church, in which time we are to look on him, as the king and the king's great vicegerent did, as a person concerning whose abilities the world had too great testimony ever to make a doubt. It is true he was in the declension of his age and health; but his very ruins were goodly; and they who saw the broken heaps of Pompey's theatre, and the crushed obelisks, and the old face of beauteous Philænium, could not but admire the disordered glories of such magnificent structures, which were venerable in their very dust.

He ever was used to overcome all difficulties, only mortality was too hard for him; but still his virtues and his spirit were immortal; he still took great care, and still had new and noble designs, and proposed to himself admirable things. He governed his province with great justice and sincerity;

Unus amplo consulens pastor gregi,
Somnos tuetur omnium solus vigil;

and had this remark in all his government; that as he was a great hater of sacrilege, so he professed himself a public enemy to non-residence, and often would declare wisely and religiously against it, allowing it in no case but of necessity, or the greater good of the church. There are great things spoken of his predecessor, St. Patrick; that he founded seven hundred churches and religious convents, that he ordained five thousand priests, and, with his own hands, consecrated three hundred and fifty bishops. How true the story is I know not; but we were all witnesses that the late primate, whose memory we now celebrate, did, by an extraordinary contingency of Providence, in one day, consecrate two archbishops and ten bishops; and did benefit to almost all the churches in Ireland, and was greatly instrumental to the re-endowments of the whole clergy; and in the greatest abilities and incomparable industry, was inferior to none of his most glorious antecessors.

Since the canonisation of saints came into the church, we find no Irish bishop canonised, except St. Laurence of Dublin, and St. Malachias of Down; indeed Richard of Armagh's canonisation was propounded, but not effected: but the character which was given of that learned primate by Trithemius,* does exactly fit this, our late father: *Vir in divinis Scripturis eruditus, secularis philosophiæ jurisque canonici non ignarus, clarus ingenio, sermone scholasticus, in declamandis sermonibus ad populum excellentis industriæ:* "He was learned in the Scriptures, skilled in secular philosophy, and not unknowing in the civil and canon laws; (in which studies I wish the clergy were, with some carefulness and diligence, still more conversant) he was of an excellent spirit, a scholar in his discourses, an early and industrious preacher to the people." And as if there were a more particular sympathy between their souls, our primate had so great a veneration to his memory, that he purposed, if he had lived, to have restored his monument in Dundalk, which time, or impiety, or unthankfulness, had either omitted or destroyed. So great a lover he was of all true and inherent worth, that he loved it in the very memory of the dead, and to have such great examples transmitted to the intuition and imitation of posterity.

* De Scriptor. Eccles.

At his coming to the primacy, he knew he should at first espy little besides the ruin of discipline, a harvest of thorns, and heresies prevailing in the hearts of the people, the churches possessed by wolves and intruders, men's hearts greatly estranged from true religion; and therefore he set himself to weed the fields of the church; he treated the adversaries sometimes sweetly, sometimes he confuted them learnedly, sometimes he rebuked them sharply. He visited his charges diligently and in his own person, not by proxies and instrumental deputations: *Quærens non nostra, sed nos, et quæ sunt Jesu Christi:* "He designed nothing that we knew of but the redintegration of religion," the honor of God and the king, the restoring of collapsed discipline, and the renovation of faith and the service of God in the churches. And still he was indefatigable, and, even at the last scene of his life, intended to undertake a regal visitation. *Quid enim vultis me otiosum a Domino comprehendi?* said one; "He was not willing that God should take him unemployed:" but, good man, he felt his tabernacle ready to fall in pieces, and could go no farther,—for God would have no more work done by that hand: he, therefore, espying this, put his house in order, and had lately visited his diocese, and done what he then could, to put his charge in order; for he had, a good while since, received the sentence of death within himself, and knew he was shortly to render an account of his stewardship: he, therefore, on a brisk alarm of death, which God sent him the last January, made his will; in which, besides the prudence and presence of spirit manifested in making just and wise settlement of his estate, and provisions for his descendants; at midnight, and in the trouble of his sickness and circumstances of addressing death, still kept a special sentiment, and made confession of God's admirable mercies, and gave thanks that God had permitted him to live to see the blessed restoration of his majesty and the church of England, confessed his faith to be the same as ever, gave praises to God that he was born and bred up in this religion, and prayed to God, and hoped he should die in the communion of this church, which he declared to be the most pure and apostolical church in the whole world.

He prayed to God to pardon his frailties and infirmities,

relied on the mercies of God and the merits of Jesus Christ, and, with a singular sweetness, resigned up his soul into the hands of his Redeemer.

But God, who is the great Choragus and Master of the scenes of life and death, was not pleased then to draw the curtains; there was an epilogue to his life yet to be acted and spoken. He returned to actions and life, and went on in the methods of the same procedure as before; was desirous still to establish the affairs of the church, complained of some disorders which he purposed to redress, girt himself to the work; but though his spirit was willing, yet his flesh was weak; and as the Apostles in the vespers of Christ's passion, so he, in the eye of his own dissolution, was heavy, not to sleep, but heavy unto death; and looked for the last warning, which seized on him in the midst of business; and though it was sudden, yet it could not be unexpected or unprovided by surprise, and, therefore, could be no other than that εὐθανασία which Augustus used to wish unto himself, a civil and well-natured death, without the amazement of troublesome circumstances, or the great cracks of a falling house, or the convulsions of impatience. Seneca tells that Bassus Aufidius was wont to say, *Sperare se nullum dolorem esse in illo extremo anhelitu; si tamen esset, habere aliquantum in ipsa brevitate solatii;** "He hoped that the pains of the last dissolution were little or none; or if they were, it was full of comfort that they could be but short." It happened so to this excellent man: his passive fortitude had been abundantly tried before, and, therefore, there was the less need of it now; his active graces had been abundantly demonstrated by the great and good things he did; and, therefore, his last scene was not so laborious, but God called him away something after the manner of Moses, which the Jews express by *osculum oris Dei*, "the kiss of God's mouth;" that is, a death indeed fore-signified, but gentle and serene, and without temptation.

To sum up all: he was a wise prelate, a learned doctor, a just man, a true friend, a great benefactor to others, a thankful beneficiary where he was obliged himself. He was a faithful

* Epist. 30.

servant to his masters, a loyal subject to the king, a zealous assertor of his religion against popery on one side, and fanaticism on the other. The practice of his religion was not so much in forms and exterior ministries (though he was a great observer of all the public rites and ministries of the church) as it was in doing good for others. He was like Myson, whom the Scythian Anacharsis so greatly praised, ὁ Μύσων ἦν οἶκον οἰκῆσας καλῶς, "he governed his family well;" he gave to all their due of maintenance and duty; he did great benefit to mankind; he had the fate of the Apostle St. Paul, he passed 'through evil report and good report, a deceiver, and yet true.' He was a man of great business and great resort: *Semper aliquis in Cydonis domo*, as the Corinthians said; "There was always somebody in Cydon's house." He was μερίζων τὸν βιὸν ἔργῳ καὶ βίβλῳ,* "he divided his life into labor and his book." He took care of his churches when he was alive, and even after his death, having left five hundred pounds for the repair of his cathedral of Armagh and St. Peter's church in Drogheda. He was an excellent scholar, and rarely well accomplished; first instructed to great excellency by natural parts, and then consummated by study and experience. Melancthon was used to say, that himself was a logician; Pomeranus, a grammarian; Justus Jonas, an orator; but that Luther was all these. It was greatly true of him, that the single perfections which make many men eminent, were united in this primate, and made him illustrious.

> Ergo Quinctilium perpetuus sopor
> Urget! cui Pudor, et Justitiæ soror
> Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
> Quando ullum invenient parem?

It will be hard to find his equal in all things. *Fortasse tanquam phœnix anno quingentesimo nascitur* (that I may use the words of Seneca): *nec est mirum ex intervallo magna generari: mediocria et in turbam nascentia sæpe fortuna producit; eximia vero ipsa raritate commendat.* For in him were visible the great lines of Hooker's judiciousness, of Jewel's learning,

* Synes. Ep. 57.

of the acuteness of bishop Andrews. He was skilled in more great things than one; and, as one said of Phidias, he could not only make excellent statues of ivory, but he could work in stone and brass. He showed his equanimity in poverty, and his justice in riches; he was useful in his country, and profitable in his banishment; for, as Paræus was at Anvilla, Luther at Wittenburg, St. Athanasius and St. Chrysostom in their banishment, St. Jerome in his retirement at Bethlehem, they were oracles to them that needed it; so was he in Holland and France, where he was abroad; and beside the particular endearments which his friends received from him, for he did do relief to his brethren that wanted, and supplied the soldiers out of his store in Yorkshire, when himself could but ill spare it: but he received public thanks from the convocation of which he was president, and public justification from the parliament where he was speaker; so that although, as one said, *Miraculi instar vitæ iter, si longum, sine offensione pereurrere;* yet no man had greater enemies, and no man had greater justifications.

But God hath taken our Elijah from our heads this day: I pray God that at least his mantle may be left behind, and that his spirit may be doubled on his successor; and that we may all meet together with him at the right hand of the Lamb, where every man shall receive according to his deeds, whether they be good or whether they be evil. I conclude with the words of Caius Plinius:* *Equidem beatos puto quibus Deorum munere datum est, aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda;* "he wrote many things fit to be read, and did very many things worthy to be written;" which, if we wisely imitate, we may hope to meet him in the resurrection of the just, and feast with him in the eternal supper of the Lamb, there to sing perpetual anthems to the honor of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; to whom be all honor, &c.

* Gierig, vi. 16. 3.

A

FUNERAL SERMON

PREACHED AT

THE OBSEQUIES

OF THE

RIGHT HONORABLE AND MOST VIRTUOUS LADY,

THE LADY FRANCES,

COUNTESS OF CARBERY.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

AND TRULY NOBLE

RICHARD LORD VAUGHAN,

EARL OF CARBERY, BARON OF EMLIN AND MOLINGER, KNIGHT OF THE HONORABLE ORDER OF THE BATH.

MY LORD,

I AM not ashamed to profess that I pay this part of service to your lordship most unwillingly; for it is a sad office to be the chief minister in a house of mourning, and to present an interested person with a branch of cypress and a bottle of tears. And indeed, my lord, it were more proportionable to your needs to bring something that might alleviate or divert your sorrow, than to dress the hearse of your dear lady, and to furnish it with such circumstances, that it may dwell with you, and lie in your closet, and make your prayers and your retirements more sad and full of weepings. But, because the Divine Providence hath taken from you a person so excellent, a woman fit to converse with angels and apostles, with saints and martyrs, give me leave to present you with her picture, drawn in little and in water colors, sullied, indeed, with tears and the abrupt accents of a real and consonant sorrow, but drawn with a faithful hand, and taken from the life; and indeed, it were too great a loss to be deprived of her example and of her rule, of the original and of the copy too. The age is very evil, and deserved her not; but because it is so evil, it hath the more need to have such lives preserved in memory, to instruct our piety, or upbraid our wickedness. For now that God hath cut this tree of Paradise down from its seat of earth, yet so the dead trunk may support a part of the declining temple, or, at least, serve to kindle the fire on

the altar. My lord, I pray God this heap of sorrow may swell your piety, till it breaks into the greatest joys of God and of religion; and remember, when you pay a tear on the grave, or to the memory of your lady, that dear and most excellent soul, that you pay two more; one of repentance for those things that may have caused this breach, and another of joy for the mercies of God to your dear departed saint, that he hath taken her into a place where she can weep no more. My lord, I think I shall, so long as I live, that is, so long as I am

Your lordship's

Most humble servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

Pietati et Memoriæ Sacrum.

MONUMENTUM doloris singularis, paris fati et conditionis, posuit Ricardus Comes Carberiensis sibi vivo, et mortem nec exoptanti nec metuenti; et dilectissimæ suæ conjugi Franciscæ Comitissæ in flore ætatis casibus puerperii raptæ ex amplexibus sanctissimi amoris. Fuit illa, (descendat lacrimula, amice lector!) fuit inter castissimas prima, interconjuges amantissima, mater optima: placidi oris, severæ virtutis, conversationis suavissimæ: vultum hilarem fecit bona conscientia; amabilem, forma plusquam uxoria. Claris orta natalibus, fortunam non mediocrem habuit; erat enim cum unica germana hæres ex asse. Annos XIII. menses IV. supra biduum vixit in sanctissimo matrimonio cum suo, quem effusissime dilexit, et sancte observavit; quem novit prudentissimum, sensit amantissimum, virum optimum vidit et lætata est. Enixa prolem numerosam, pulchram, ingenuam, formæ et spei optimæ; quatuor masculos, Franciscum Dominum Vaughan, Johannem, Althamum, quartum immaturum; fœminas sex, Dominam Franciscam, Elizabethas duas, Mariam, Margaritam, et Althamiam,—post cujus partum paucis diebus obdormiit. Totam prolem masculam (si demas abortivum illum) et fœminas omnes, præter Elizabetham alteram et Mariam, superstites reliquit. Pietatis adeoque spei plena obiit IX. Octobr. MDCL. Lacrymis suorum omnium tota irrigua conditur in hoc cœmeterio, ubi, cum Deo Opt. Max. visum fuerit, sperat se reponendum conjux mœstissimus: interea temporis luctui, sed pietati magis vacat, ut in suo tempore simul lætentur par tam pium, tam nobile, tam Christianum, in gremio Jesu, usque dum coronæ adornentur accipiendæ in adventu Domini. Amen.

Cum ille vita defunctus fuerit, marmor loquetur, quod adhuc tacere jubet virtus modesta: interim vitam ejus observa, et leges quod postea hic inscriptum amabunt et colent posteri. Ora, et abi.

SUMMARY OF SERMON VIII.

2 SAMUEL, CHAP. XIV.—VERSE 14.

PREVIOUS observations on the mortality of man and his subjection to death, as the effects of sin and disobedience. *All must die. We are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again.*

1. We are as water, weak and of no consistency, always descending, abiding in no certain place, unless where we are detained by violence, &c.

2. But besides the weaknesses and natural decay of our bodies, if chances and contingencies be innumerable, then no man can reckon our dangers, and the preternatural causes of our deaths; so that he is a vain person whose hopes of life are too confidently increased by reason of his health, &c.: peculiar dangers of infancy exhibited.

3. But in the middle way the case is altered. Nature is strong, and art is apt to give us ease and remedy: but still there is no security. Peculiar diseases to which men are incident, and various stages of them, described, &c. Our farther likeness to water insisted on.

4. In all the process of our health we are running to the grave: private vices and quarrels, public wars, &c. enlarged on: so that we make ourselves like to water spilt on the ground, throwing away our lives, as if they were wholly unprofitable. There is no redemption from the grave: the topic commented on and illustrated.

This consideration intended as a severe monitor of careful-

ness; that we should so order our affairs as to be partakers of the first resurrection, that is, from sin to a life of grace; for such only can or will be called a resurrection from death to life: the taking of the wicked from their graves to the bar of judgment, can scarcely be called a resurrection: such are but the solemnities of an eternal death: the wicked are spilt like water, and shall never be gathered up again. But the godly also come under the sense of the words: they descend into the grave, and are no more reckoned among the living; they have no more concern with what is done under the sun, &c. It is true, they envy and murmur not; they are consigned to kingdoms where these passions disturb them not: "yet there is a relation continued still." Opinion of Aristotle, that the dead take thought for the good of the living: that also of the church.

We must remember, that in this world we are something besides flesh and blood: we may not, without violent necessities, run into new relations; but must preserve the affections which we bore towards our dead when they were alive: we must not so live as if they had perished, but as pressing forward to the most intimate participation of the communion of saints: this topic enlarged on. Though to us they are as water spilt, yet to God they are as water fallen into the sea; safe in his comprehension.

Farther consideration of the sentence: this descending to the grave is the lot of all men: the rich is not protected through favor, nor the poor for pity; the old man is not reverenced for his age, nor the infant regarded for his tender years: youth and beauty, learning and prudence, wit and strength, all lie down equally in dishonor: this subject enlarged on.

Well, it may be said, this is a sad story. Is there no comfort after this? *Shall we all go hence, and be no more seen,* and have no recompense? Is there no allay to this great calamity?

Yes, there is a *yet* in the text; *yet doth he devise means,* &c.

All this sorrow and trouble is but a phantasm, and receives its account and degrees from our present conceptions, &c. Death is nothing but the middle point between two lives: this illustrated from Scripture.

We must not venture to determine what are the circumstances of the abode of blessed souls in their separate dwellings; yet possibly that might be easier than to tell what or how the soul is, and how it works when in the body, &c.

Certain it is that the body hinders many actions of the soul: it is an imperfect body, a diseased brain, or a violent passion, that makes fools; for no one has an imperfect soul; &c. That the soul is alive after our death, St. Paul affirms: *Christ died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him.* It is a weak and unlearned proposition to say, that the soul can do nothing of itself, without the provisions of the body. Reasons given against such a supposition.

To which this consideration may be added; that our souls have the same condition that Christ's soul had in the state of separation; because he took on himself all our nature, and all our condition, &c.

But if these arguments should fail, yet the felicity of God's saints cannot fail: for suppose the body to be a necessary instrument, &c., yet then God devises other means that his departed be not expelled from him. For God will restore the soul to the body, and raise the body to such a perfection, that it shall be an organ fit to praise him on: it shall be made spiritual, to minister to the soul, when the soul shall become a spirit: this topic enlarged on. In the mean time, whatever may be the case with regard to the soul's separate consciousness, it will concern us only to secure our state by holy living, leaving the event to God; that *whether present or absent, whether sleeping or waking*, whether perceiving or perceiving not, *we may be accepted of him.* Character and conduct of Lady Carbery displayed. Conclusion.

SERMON VIII.

A FUNERAL SERMON, &c.

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2 SAMUEL, CHAP. XIV.—VERSE 14.

For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again: neither doth God respect any person; yet doth he devise means, that his banished be not expelled from him.

When our blessed Saviour and his disciples viewed the temple, some one amongst them cried out, *Magister, aspice, quales lapides!* 'Master, behold, what fair, what great stones are here!' Christ made no other reply, but foretold their dissolution, and a world of sadness and sorrow which should bury that whole nation, when the teeming cloud of God's displeasure should produce a storm, which was the daughter of the biggest anger, and the mother of the greatest calamity, which ever crushed any of the sons of Adam; 'The time shall come, that there shall not be left one stone on another.' The whole temple and the religion, the ceremonies ordained by God, and the nation beloved by God, and the fabric erected for the service of God, shall run to their own period, and lie down in their several graves. Whatsoever had a beginning, can also have an ending; and it shall die, unless it be daily watered with the purls flowing from the fountain of life, and refreshed with the dew of heaven, and the wells of God: and, therefore, God had provided a tree in Paradise to have supported Adam in his artificial immortality: immortality was not in his nature, but in the hands and arts, in the favor and superad-

ditions of God. Man was always the same mixture of heat and cold, of dryness and moisture; ever the same weak thing, apt to feel rebellion in the humors, and to suffer the evils of a civil war in his body natural: and, therefore, health and life were to descend on him from heaven, and he was to suck life from a tree on earth; himself being but ingrafted into a tree of life, and adopted into the condition of an immortal nature. But he that in the best of his days was but a scion of this tree of life, by his sin was cut off from thence quickly, and planted on thorns, and his portion was for ever after among the flowers, which to-day spring and look like health and beauty, and in the evening they are sick, and at night are dead, and the oven is their grave: and, as before, even from our first spring from the dust on earth, we might have died, if we had not been preserved by the continual flux of a rare providence; so now that we are reduced to the laws of our own nature, 'we must needs die.' It is natural, and, therefore, necessary: it is become a punishment to us, and therefore it is unavoidable; and God hath bound the evil on us by bands of natural and inseparable propriety, and by a supervening unalterable decree of heaven; and we are fallen from our privilege, and are returned to the condition of beasts, and buildings, and common things: and we see temples defiled unto the ground, and they die by sacrilege; and great empires die by their own plenty and ease, full humors, and factious subjects; and huge buildings fall by their own weight, and the violence of many winters eating and consuming the cement, which is the marrow of their bones; and princes die like the meanest of their servants; and every thing finds a grave and a tomb: and the very tomb itself dies by the bigness of its pompousness and luxury,

> ——— Phario nutantia pondera saxo,
> Quæ cineri vanus dat ruitura labor,*

and becomes as friable and uncombined dust, as the ashes of the sinner or the saint that lay under it, and is now forgotten in his bed of darkness. And to this catalogue of mortality man is enrolled with a *statutum est;* 'It is appointed for all men to die once, and after death comes judgment:' and if a

* Martial, i. 89. 3.

man can be stronger than nature, or can wrestle with a decree of heaven, or can escape from a divine punishment by his own arts, so that neither the power nor the providence of God, nor the laws of nature, nor the bands of eternal predestination can hold him, then he may live beyond the fate and period of flesh, and last longer than a flower: but if all these can hold us and tie us to conditions, then we must lay our heads down on a turf, and entertain creeping things in the cells and little chambers of our eyes, and dwell with worms till time and death shall be no more. 'We must needs die'—that is our sentence; but that is not all.

'We are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again.' Stay,

1. We are as water, weak, and of no consistence, always descending, abiding in no certain place, unless where we are detained with violence; and every little breath of wind makes us rough and tempestuous, and troubles our faces; every trifling accident discomposes us; and, as the face of the waters wafting in a storm, so wrinkles itself, that it makes on its forehead furrows deep and hollow like a grave; so do our great and little cares and trifles first make the wrinkles of old age, and then they dig a grave for us: and there is in nature nothing so contemptible, but it may meet with us in such circumstances, that it may be too hard for us in our weaknesses; and the sting of a bee is a weapon sharp enough to pierce the finger of a child or the lip of a man; and those creatures which nature hath left without weapons, yet they are armed sufficiently to vex those parts of men which are left defenceless and obnoxious to a sun-beam, to the roughness of a sour grape, to the unevenness of a gravel-stone, to the dust of a wheel, or the unwholesome breath of a star looking awry on a sinner.

2. But besides the weaknesses and natural decayings of our bodies, if chances and contingencies be innumerable, then no man can reckon our dangers, and the preternatural causes of our deaths: so that he is a vain person, whose hopes of life are too confidently increased by reason of his health; and he is too unreasonably timorous, who thinks his hopes at an end, when he dwells in sickness. For men die without rule, and with and without occasions; and no man suspecting or fore-

seeing any of death's addresses, and no man in his whole condition, is weaker than another. A man in a long consumption is fallen under one of the solemnities and preparations to death; but at the same instant, the most healthy person is as near death, on a more fatal and a more sudden, but a less discerned cause. There are but few persons on whose foreheads every man can read the sentence of death, written in the lines of a lingering sickness, but they sometimes hear the passing-bell ring for stronger men, even long before their own knell calls at the house of their mother to open her womb, and make a bed for them. No man is surer of to-morrow than the weakest of his brethren: and when Lepidus and Aufidius stumbled at the threshold of the senate, and fell down and died, the blow came from heaven in a cloud; but it struck more suddenly than on the poor slave that made sport on the theatre with a premeditated and fore-described death: *Quod quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis Cautum est in horas.** There are sicknesses that walk in darkness; and there are exterminating angels, that fly wrapt up in the curtains of immateriality and an uncommunicating nature; whom we cannot see, but we feel their force, and sink under their sword; and from heaven the veil descends that wraps our heads in the fatal sentence. There is no age of man but it hath proper to itself some posterns and outlets for death, besides those infinite and open ports out of which myriads of men and women every day pass into the dark, and the land of forgetfulness. Infancy hath life but in effigy, or like a spark dwelling in a pile of wood: the candle is so newly lighted, that every little shaking of the taper, and every ruder breath of air, puts it out, and it dies. Childhood is so tender, and yet so unwary; so soft to all the impressions of chance, and yet so forward to run into them, that God knew there could be no security without the care and vigilance of an angel-keeper: and the eyes of parents and the arms of nurses, the provisions of art, and all the effects of human love and providence, are not sufficient to keep one child from horrid mischiefs, from strange and early calamities and deaths, unless a messenger be sent from heaven to stand sentinel, and watch the very play-

* Hor. Od. ii. 13. 13.

ings and sleepings, the eatings and drinkings of the children; and it is a long time before nature makes them capable of help; for there are many deaths, and very many diseases to which poor babes are exposed; but they have but very few capacities of physic; to show that infancy is as liable to death as old age, and equally exposed to danger, and equally incapable of a remedy; with this only difference, that old age hath diseases incurable by nature, and the diseases of childhood are incurable by art; and both the states are the next heirs of death.

3. But all the middle way the case is altered: nature is strong, and art is apt to give ease and remedy, but still there is no security; and there the case is not altered: 1. for there are so many diseases in men that are not understood: 2. so many new ones every year: 3. the old ones are so changed in circumstance, and intermingled with so many collateral complications: 4. the symptoms are oftentimes so alike: 5. sometimes so hidden and fallacious: 6. sometimes none at all; as in the most sudden and most dangerous imposthumations: 7. and then, the diseases, in the inward parts of the body, are oftentimes such to which no application can be made: 8. they are so far off, that the effects of all medicines can no otherwise come to them, than the effect and juices of all meats; that is, not till after two or three alterations and decoctions, which change the very species of the medicament: 9. and, after all this, very many principles in the art of physic are so uncertain, that after they have been believed seven or eight ages, and that on them much of the practice hath been established, they come to be considered by a witty man, and others established in their stead; by which men must practise, and by which three or four generations of men more (as happeneth) must live or die: 10. and all this while the men are sick, and they take things that certainly make them sicker for the present, and very uncertainly restore health for the future: that it may appear of what a large extent is human calamity; when God's providence hath not only made it weak and miserable on the certain stock of a various nature, and on the accidents of an infinite contingency; but even from the remedies which are appointed, our dangers and our troubles are certainly increased: so that we may well be likened to water; our na-

ture is no stronger, our abode no more certain; if the sluices be opened, 'it falls away and runneth apace;' if its current be stopped, it swells and grows troublesome, and spills over with a greater diffusion; if it be made to stand still, it putrifies: and all this we do. For,

4. In all the process of our health we are running to our grave: we open our own sluices by viciousness and unworthy actions; we pour in drink, and let out life; we increase diseases, and know not how to bear them; we strangle ourselves with our own intemperance; we suffer the fevers and the inflammations of lust, and we quench our souls with drunkenness: we bury our understandings in loads of meat and surfeits, and then we lie down on our beds, and roar with pain and disquietness of our souls: nay, we kill one another's souls and bodies with violence and folly, with the effects of pride and uncharitableness; we live and die like fools, and bring a new mortality on ourselves; wars and vexatious cares, and private duels and public disorders, and every thing that is unreasonable, and every thing that is violent: so that now we may add this fourth gate to the grave: besides nature and chance, and the mistakes of art, men die with their own sins, and then enter into the grave in haste and passion, and pull the heavy stone of the monument on their own heads. And thus we make ourselves like water spilt on the ground; we throw away our lives as if they were unprofitable, and indeed most men make them so; we let our years slip through our fingers like water; and nothing is to be seen, but like a shower of tears on a spot of ground; there is a grave digged, and a solemn mourning and a great talk in the neighborhood, and when the days are finished, they shall be; and they shall be remembered no more: and that is like water too,—when it is spilt, 'it cannot be gathered up again.'

There is no redemption from the grave.

> ——inter se mortales mutua vivunt;
> Et, quasi cursores, vitai lampada tradunt.*

Men live in their course and by turns; their light burns awhile,

* Lucr. ii. 75.

and then it burns blue and faint, and men go to converse with spirits, and then they reach the taper to another; and as the hours of yesterday can never return again, so neither can the man whose hours they were, and who lived them over once; he shall never come to live them again, and live them better. When Lazarus, and the widow's son of Nain, and Tabitha, and the saints that appeared in Jerusalem at the resurrection of our blessed Lord, arose, they came into this world, some as strangers only to make a visit, and all of them to manifest a glory: but none came on the stock of a new life, or entered on the stage as at first, or to perform the course of a new nature: and therefore it is observable, that we never read of any wicked person that was raised from the dead: Dives would fain have returned to his brother's house; but neither he, nor any one from him could be sent: but all the rest in the New Testament (one only excepted) were expressed to have been holy persons, or else by their age were declared innocent. Lazarus was beloved of Christ: those souls that appeared at the resurrection, were the souls of saints: Tabitha raised by St. Peter was a charitable and a holy Christian: and the maiden of twelve years old, raised by our blessed Saviour, had not entered into the regions of choice and sinfulness: and the only exception of the widow's son is indeed none at all, for in it the Scripture is wholly silent; and therefore it is very probable that the same process was used, God, in all other instances, having chosen to exemplify his miracles of nature to purposes of the Spirit, and in spiritual capacities. So that, although the Lord of nature did break the bands of nature in some instances, to manifest his glory to succeeding great and never-failing purposes; yet (besides that this shall be no more) it was also instanced in such persons who were holy and innocent, and within the verge and comprehensions of the eternal mercy. We never read that a wicked person felt such a miracle, or was raised from the grave to try the second time for a crown; but where he fell, there he lay down dead, and saw the light no more.

This consideration I intend to you as a severe monitor and an advice of carefulness, that you order your affairs so that you may be partakers of the first resurrection; that is, from sin

to grace, from the death of vicious habits, to the vigor, life, and efficacy of an habitual righteousness: for (as it happened to those persons in the New Testament now mentioned, to them, I say, in the literal sense) 'Blessed are they that have part in the first resurrection; on them the second death shall have no power:' meaning that they who, by the power of Christ and his Holy Spirit were raised to life again, were holy and blessed souls, and such who were written in the book of God; and that this grace happened to no wicked and vicious person: so it is most true in the spiritual and intended sense: you only that serve God in a holy life; you who are not dead in trespasses and sins; you who serve God with an early diligence, and an unwearied industry, and a holy religion; you, and you only shall come to life eternal, you only shall be called from death to life; the rest of mankind shall never live again, but pass from death to death; from one death to another, to a worse; from the death of the body, to the eternal death of body and soul: and therefore, in the Apostles' Creed there is no mention made of the resurrection of wicked persons; but of 'the resurrection of the body to everlasting life.' The wicked indeed shall be haled forth from their graves, from their everlasting prisons, where, in chains of darkness, they are kept unto the judgment of the great day: but this therefore cannot be called, *in sensu favoris*, a resurrection; but the solemnities of the eternal death; it is nothing but a new capacity of dying again; such a dying as cannot signify rest, but where death means nothing but an intolerable and never-ceasing calamity; and therefore these words of my text are otherwise to be understood of the wicked, otherwise of the godly: the wicked are spilt like water, and shall never be gathered up again; no, not in the gatherings of eternity; they shall be put into vessels of wrath, and set on the flames of hell; but that is not a gathering, but a scattering from the face and presence of God. But the godly also come under the sense of these words: they descend into their graves, and shall no more be reckoned among the living: they have no concernment in all that is done under the sun. Agamemnon hath no more to do with the Turk's armies invading and possessing that part of Greece where he reigned, than had the Hippocentaur, who never had a being: and

Cicero hath no more interest in the present evils of Christendom, than we have to do with his boasted discovery of Catiline's conspiracy. What is it to me that Rome was taken by the Gauls? and what is it now to Camillus, if different religions be tolerated amongst us? These things that now happen concern the living, and they are made the scenes of our duty or danger respectively: and when our wives are dead, and sleep in charnel-houses, they are not troubled when we laugh loudly at the songs sung at the next marriage-feast; nor do they envy when another snatches away the gleanings of their husband's passion.

It is true, they envy not, and they lie in a bosom where there can be no murmur; and they that are consigned to kingdoms, and to the feast of the marriage-supper of the Lamb, the glorious and eternal bridegroom of holy souls, they cannot think our marriages here, our lighter laughings and vain rejoicings, considerable, as to them. And "yet there is a relation continued still." Aristotle said, that to affirm the dead take no thought for the good of the living, is a disparagement to the laws of that friendship, which, in their state of separation, they cannot be tempted to rescind. And the church hath taught in general, that they pray for us, they recommend to God the state of all their relatives, in the union of the intercession that our blessed Lord makes for them and us: and St. Ambrose gave some things in charge to his dying brother Satyrus, that he should do for him in the other world: he gave it him, I say, when he was dying, not when he was dead. And certain it is, that, though our dead friends' affection to us is not to be estimated according to our low conceptions, yet it is not less, but much more than ever it was; it is greater in degree, and of another kind.

But then we should do well also to remember, that in this world we are something besides flesh and blood; that we may not, without violent necessities, run into new relations, but preserve the affections we bore to our dead when they were alive: we must not so live as if they were perished, but so as pressing forward to the most intimate participation of the communion of saints. And we also have some ways to express this relation, and to bear a part in this communion, by actions of

intercourse with them, and yet proper to our state: such as are strictly performing the will of the dead, providing for, and tenderly and wisely educating their children, paying their debts, imitating their good example, preserving their memories privately, and publicly keeping their memorials, and desiring of God, with hearty and constant prayer, that God would give them a joyful resurrection, and a merciful judgment,—for so St. Paul prayed in behalf of Onesiphorus;*—that 'God would show them mercy in that day;' that fearful, and yet much to be desired day, in which the most righteous person hath need of much mercy and pity, and shall find it. Now these instances of duty show, that the relation remains still; and though the relict of a man or woman hath liberty to contract new relations, yet I do not find that they have liberty to cast off the old, as if there were no such thing as immortality of souls. Remember that we shall converse together again; let us therefore never do any thing of reference to them, which we shall be ashamed of in that day when all secrets shall be discovered, and when we shall meet again in the presence of God: in the mean time, God watcheth concerning all their interest, and he will, in his time, both discover and recompense. For though, as to us, they are like water spilt; yet, to God, they are as water fallen in the sea, safe and united in his comprehension and enclosures.

But we are not yet past the consideration of the sentence: this descending to the grave is the lot of all men, 'neither doth God respect the person of any man:' the rich is not protected for favor, nor the poor for pity; the old man is not reverenced for his age, nor the infant regarded for his tenderness; youth and beauty, learning and prudence, wit and strength, lie down equally in the dishonors of the grave. All men, and all natures, and all persons resist the addresses and solemnities of death, and strive to preserve a miserable and unpleasant life; and yet they all sink down and die. For so have I seen the pillars of a building, assisted with artificial props, bending under the pressure of a roof, and pertinaciously resisting the infallible and prepared ruin,

* 2 Tim. i. 18.

Donec certa dies, omni compage soluta,
Ipsum cum rebus subruat auxilium;

"till the determined day comes, and then the burden sunk on the pillars, and disordered the aids and auxiliary rafters into a common ruin and a ruder grave:" so are the desires and weak arts of man; with little aids and assistances of care and physic, we strive to support our decaying bodies, and to put off the evil day; but quickly that day will come, and then neither angels nor men can rescue us from our grave; but the roof sinks down on the walls, and the walls descend to the foundation; and the beauty of the face and the dishonors of the belly, the discerning head and the servile feet, the thinking heart and the working hand, the eyes and the guts together, shall be crushed into the confusion of a heap, and dwell with creatures of an equivocal production, with worms and serpents, the sons and daughters of our own bones, in a house of dirt and darkness.

Let us not think to be excepted or deferred: if beauty, or wit, or youth, or nobleness, or wealth, or virtue, could have been a defence and an excuse from the grave, we had not met here to-day to mourn on the hearse of an excellent lady: and God only knows, for which of us next the mourners shall go about the streets, or weep in houses.

Ζεὺς μέν που τόγε οἶδε, καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
Ὁπποτέρῳ θανάτοιο τέλος πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.*

We have lived so many years; and every day, and every minute, we make an escape from those thousands of dangers and deaths that encompass us round about: and such escapings we must reckon to be an extraordinary fortune; and, therefore, that it cannot last long. Vain are the thoughts of man, who, when he is young or healthful, thinks he hath a long thread of life to run over, and that it is violent and strange for young persons to die; and natural and proper only for the aged. It is as natural for a man to die by drowning as by a fever: and what greater violence or more unnatural thing is it, that the horse threw his rider into the river, than that a drunken meeting

* Il. Γ. 309.

cast him into a fever? and the strengths of youth are as soon broken by the strong sicknesses of youth, and the stronger intemperance, as the weakness of old age by a cough, or an asthma, or a continual rheum: nay, it is more natural for young men and women to die, than for old; because that is more natural which hath more natural causes, and that is more natural which is most common; but to die with age is an extreme rare thing; and there are more persons carried forth to burial before the five and thirtieth year of their age, than after it: and, therefore, let no vain confidence make you hope for long life: if you have lived but little, and are still in youth, remember that now you are in your biggest throng of dangers, both of body and soul; and the proper sins of youth to which they rush infinitely and without consideration, are also the proper and immediate instruments of death. But if you be old, you have escaped long and wonderfully, and the time of your escaping is out: you must not for ever think to live on wonders, or that God will work miracles to satisfy your longing follies, and unreasonable desires of living longer to sin and to the world. Go home and think to die, and what you would choose to be doing when you die, that do daily: for you will all come to that pass to rejoice that you did so, or wish that you had: that will be the condition of every one of us: for 'God regardeth no man's person.'

Well! but all this you will think is but a sad story. What? we must die, and go to darkness and dishonor; and we must die quickly, and we must quit all our delights, and all our sins, or do worse, infinitely worse; and this is the condition of us all, from which none can be excepted; every man shall be spilt and fall into the ground, and 'be gathered up no more.' Is there no comfort after all this? 'shall we go from hence, and be no more seen,' and have no recompense?

> "Misero misere," aiunt, "omnia ademit
> Una dies infausta tibi tot præmia vitæ."*

Shall we exchange our fair dwellings for a coffin, our softer beds for the moistened and weeping turf, and our pretty chil-

* Lucr. iii. 911.

dren for worms; and is there no allay to this huge calamity? yes, there is; there is a *yet* in the text: 'for all this, *yet* doth God devise means that his banished be not expelled from him.' All this sorrow and trouble is but a phantasm, and receives its account and degrees from our present conceptions, and the proportion to our relishes and gust.

When Pompey saw the ghost of his first lady, Julia, who vexed his rest and his conscience, for superinducing Cornelia on her bed within the ten months of mourning, he presently fancied it either to be an illusion, or else that death could be no very great evil:

> Aut nihil est sensus animis a morte relictum,
> Aut mors ipsa nihil———:*

"Either my dead wife knows not of my unhandsome marriage, and forgetfulness of her; or, if she does, then the dead live."

> ——longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ
> Mors media est——:†

"Death is nothing but the middle point between two lives, between this and another:" concerning which comfortable mystery the holy Scripture instructs our faith, and entertains our hope in these words: God is still the 'God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for all do live to him;' and the souls of saints are with Christ: 'I desire to be dissolved,' saith St. Paul, 'and to be with Christ, for that is much better:' and, 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; they rest from their labors, and their works follow them:' 'for we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens:' and this state of separation St. Paul calls 'a being absent from the body, and being present with the Lord.'‡ This is one of God's means which he hath devised, that although our dead are like persons banished from this world, yet they are not expelled from God: they are 'in the hands of Christ;' they are

* Lucan, iii. 39. † Id. i. 456.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 18. 1 Thess. iv. 16. Rev. xiv. 13. John, v. 24. 2 Cor. v. 6. 8.

'in his presence;' they are, or shall be, 'clothed with a house of God's making;' 'they rest from all their labors;' 'all tears are wiped from their eyes,' and all discontents from their spirits; and in the state of separation, before the soul be re-invested with her new house, the spirits of all persons are with God, so secured, and so blessed, and so sealed up for glory, that this state of interval and imperfection is, in respect of its certain event and end, infinitely more desirable than all the riches, and all the pleasures, and all the vanities, and all the kingdoms of this world.

I will not venture to determine what are the circumstances of the abode of holy souls in their separate dwellings; and yet possibly, that might be easier than to tell what or how the soul is and works in this world, where it is in the body *tanquam in aliena domo*, "as in a prison," in fetters and restraints; for here the soul is discomposed and hindered; it is not as it shall be, as it ought to be, as it was intended to be; it is not permitted to its own freedom and proper operation; so that all that we can understand of it here, is, that it is so incommodated with a troubled and abated instrument, that the object we are to consider cannot be offered to us in a right line, in just and equal propositions: or if it could, yet because we are to understand the soul by the soul, it becomes not only a troubled and abused object, but a crooked instrument; and we here can consider it just as a weak eye can behold a staff thrust into the waters of a troubled river; the very water makes a refraction, and the storm doubles the refraction, and the water of the eye doubles the species, and there is nothing right in the thing: the object is out of its just place, and the medium is troubled, and the organ is impotent. *At cum exierit, et in liberum cœlum, quasi in domum suam, venerit;* "when the soul is entered into her own house, into the free regions of the rest," and the neighborhood of heavenly joys, then its operations are more spiritual, proper, and proportioned to its being; and, though we cannot see at such a distance, yet the object is more fitted, if we had a capable understanding; it is in itself in a more excellent and free condition.

Certain it is that the body does hinder many actions of the soul: it is an imperfect body and a diseased brain, or a violent

passion, that makes fools: no man hath a foolish soul; and the reasonings of men have infinite difference and degrees, by reason of the body's constitution. Among beasts, which have no reason, there is a greater likeness than between men, who have; and as by faces it is easier to know a man from a man, than a sparrow from a sparrow, or a squirrel from a squirrel; so the difference is very great in our souls; which difference, because it is not originally in the soul, (and indeed cannot be in simple or spiritual substances of the same species or kind,) it must needs derive wholly from the body, from its accidents and circumstances; from whence it follows, that because the body casts fetters and restraints, hinderances and impediments on the soul, that the soul is much freer in the state of separation; and if it hath any act of life, it is much more noble and expedite.

That the soul is alive after our death, St. Paul affirms: 'Christ died for us, that whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him.'* Now it were strange that we should be alive, and live with Christ, and yet do no act of life: the body, when it is asleep, does many; and if the soul does none, the principle is less active than the instrument: but if it does any act at all in separation, it must necessarily be an act or effect of understanding; there is nothing else it can do, but this it can; for it is but a weak and an unlearned proposition to say, that the soul can do nothing of itself, nothing without the phantasms and provisions of the body: for,

1. In this life the soul hath one principle clearly separate, abstracted, and immaterial; I mean 'the spirit of grace,' which is a principle of light and action, and in many instances does not at all communicate with matter, as in the infusion, superinduction, and creation of spiritual graces.

2. As nutrition, generation, eating and drinking, are actions proper to the body, and its state; so ecstasies, visions, raptures, intuitive knowlege and consideration of itself, acts of volition, and reflex acts of understanding, are proper to the soul.

3. And therefore it is observable that St. Paul said, that 'he knew not whether his visions and raptures were in or out

* 1 Thess. v. 10.

of the body;' for by that we see his judgment of the thing, that one was as likely as the other, neither of them impossible or unreasonable; and therefore, that the soul is as capable of action alone as in conjunction.

4. If in the state of blessedness, there are some actions of the soul which do not pass through the body, such as contemplation of God, and conversing with spirits, and receiving those influences and rare immissions, which coming from the holy and mysterious Trinity, make up the crown of glory; it follows that the necessity of the body's ministry is but during the state of this life, and as long as it converses with fire and water, and lives with corn and flesh, and is fed by the satisfaction of material appetites; which necessity and manner of conversation, when it ceases, it can be no longer necessary for the soul to be served by phantasms and material representations.

5. And therefore, when the body shall be reunited, it shall be so ordered that then the body shall confess it gives not any thing, but receives all its being and operation, its manner and abode, from the soul; and that then it comes not to serve a necessity, but to partake a glory: for as the operations of the soul, in this life, begin in the body, and by it the object is transmitted to the soul; so then they shall begin in the soul, and pass to the body: and as the operations of the soul, by reason of its dependence on the body, are animal, natural, and material; so in the resurrection, the body shall be spiritual, by reason of the pre-eminence, influence, and prime operation of the soul. Now between these two states stands the state of separation, in which the operations of the soul are of a middle nature, that is, not so spiritual as in the resurrection, and not so animal and natural as in the state of conjunction.

To all which I add this consideration, that our souls have the same condition that Christ's soul had in the state of separation, because he took on him all our nature, and all our condition; and it is certain, Christ's soul, in the three days of his separation, did exercise acts of life, of joy, and triumph, and did not sleep, but visited the souls of the fathers, trampled on the pride of devils, and satisfied those longing souls which were prisoners of hope: and from all this we may conclude, that the souls of all the servants of Christ are alive, and there-

fore do the actions of life, and proper to their state; and, therefore, it is highly probable that the soul works clearer, and understands brighter, and discourses wiser, and rejoices louder, and loves nobler, and desires purer, and hopes stronger, than it can do here.

But if these arguments should fail, yet the felicity of God's saints cannot fail: for suppose the body to be a necessary instrument, but out of tune and discomposed by sin and anger, by accident and chance, by defect and imperfections, yet that it is better than none at all; and that if the soul works imperfectly with an imperfect body, that then she works not at all, when she hath none; and suppose also that the soul should be as much without sense or perception in death, as it is in a deep sleep, which is the image and shadow of death; yet then God devises other means that his banished be not expelled from him. For,

2. God will restore the soul to the body, and raise the body to such a perfection, that it shall be an organ fit to praise him on; it shall be made spiritual to minister to the soul, when the soul is turned into a spirit: then the soul shall be brought forth by angels from her incomparable and easy bed, from her rest in Christ's holy bosom, and be made perfect in her being, and in all her operations: and this shall first appear by that perfection which the soul shall receive, as instrumental to the last judgment; for then she shall see clearly all the records of this world, all the register of her own memory: for all that we did in this life is laid up in our memories; and though dust and forgetfulness be drawn on them, yet when God shall lift us from our dust, then shall appear clearly all that we have done, written in the tables of our conscience, which is the soul's memory. We see many times, and in many instances, that a great memory is hindered and put out, and we, thirty years after, come to think of something that lay so long under a curtain; we think of it suddenly, and without a line of deduction, or proper consequence: and all those famous memories of Simonides and Theedactes, of Hortensius and Seneca, of Sceptius, Metrodorus, and Carneades, of Cyneas the ambassador of Pyrrhus, are only the records better kept, and less disturbed by accident and disease: for even the memory of Herod's son of Athens, of Ba-

thyllus, and the dullest person now alive, is so great, and by God made so sure a record of all that ever he did, that as soon as ever God shall but tune our instrument, and draw the curtains, and but light up the candle of immortality, there we shall find it all, there we shall see all, and the whole world shall see all; then we shall be made fit to converse with God after the manner of spirits, we shall be like to angels.

In the mean time, although on the persuasion of the former discourse, it be highly probable that the souls of God's servants do live in a state of present blessedness, and in the exceeding joys of a certain expectation of the revelation of the day of the Lord, and the coming of Jesus; yet it will concern us only to secure our state by holy living, and leave the event to God, that, as St. Paul said, 'whether present or absent, whether sleeping or waking,' whether perceiving or perceiving not, 'we may be accepted of him;' that when we are banished this world, and from the light of the sun, we may not be expelled from God, and from the light of his countenance; but that, from our beds of sorrow, our souls may pass into the bosom of Christ, and from thence to his right hand in the day of sentence: 'For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ;' and then if we have done well in the body, we shall never be expelled from the beatifical presence of God, but be domestics of his family, and heirs of his kingdom, and partakers of his glory. Amen.

I have now done with my text, but yet am to make you another sermon. I have told you the necessity and the state of death, it may be too largely for such a sad story: I shall, therefore, now with a better compendium teach you how to live, by telling you a plain narrative of a life, which if you imitate, and write after the copy, it will make that death shall not be an evil, but a thing to be desired, and to be reckoned among the purchases and advantages of your fortune. When Martha and Mary went to weep over the grave of their brother, Christ met them there, and preached a funeral sermon, discoursing of the resurrection, and applying to the purposes of faith, and confession of Christ, and glorification of God. We have no other, we can have no better precedent to follow: and now that

we are come to weep over the grave of our dear sister, this rare personage, we cannot choose but have many virtues to learn, many to imitate, and some to exercise.

I choose not to declare her extraction and genealogy: it was indeed fair and honorable; but having the blessing to be descended from worthy and honored ancestors, and herself to be adopted and ingrafted into a more noble family; yet she felt such outward appendages to be none of her's, because not of her choice, but the purchase of the virtues of others, which although they did engage her to do noble things, yet they would upbraid all degenerate and less honorable lives than were those, which began and increased the honor of the families. She did not love her fortune for making her noble, but thought it would be a dishonor to her, if she did not continue a nobleness and excellency of virtue, fit to be owned by persons relating to such ancestors. It is fit for us all to honor the nobleness of a family; but it is also fit for them that are noble to despise it, and to establish their honor on the foundation of doing excellent things, and suffering in good causes, and despising dishonorable actions, and in communicating good things to others: for this is the rule in nature; those creatures are most honorable, which have the greatest power and do the greatest good: and accordingly myself have been a witness of it, how this excellent lady would, by an act of humility and Christian abstraction, strip herself of all that fair appendage and exterior honor, which decked her person and her fortune, and desired to be owned by nothing but what was her own, that she might only be esteemed honorable, according to that which is the honor of a Christian, and a wise person.

2. She had a strict and severe education, and it was one of God's graces and favors to her; for being the heiress of a great fortune, and living amongst the throng of persons, in the sight of vanities and empty temptations, that is, in that part of the kingdom where greatness is too often expressed in great follies and great vices, God had provided a severe and angry education to chastise the forwardness of a young spirit and a fair fortune, that she might for ever be so far distant from a vice, that she might only see it and loath it, but never taste of it, so much as to be put to her choice whether she would be virtuous or no.

God intending to secure this soul to himself, would not suffer the follies of the world to seize on her, by way of too near a trial or busy temptation.

3. She was married young; and besides her businesses of religion, seemed to be ordained in the providence of God to bring to this honorable family a part of a fair fortune, and to leave behind her a fairer issue, worth ten thousand times her portion: and as if this had been all the public business of her life, when she had so far served God's ends, God in mercy would also serve her's, and take her to an early blessedness.

4. In passing through which line of Providence, she had the art to secure her eternal interest, by turning her condition into duty, and expressing her duty in the greatest eminency of a virtuous, prudent, and rare affection, that hath been known in any example. I will not give her so low a testimony, as to say only that she was chaste: she was a person of that severity, modesty, and close religion as to that particular, that she was not capable of uncivil temptation; and you might as well have suspected the sun to smell of the poppy that he looks on, as that she could have been a person apt to be sullied by the breath of a foul question.

5. But that which I shall note in her, is that which I would have exemplar to all ladies, and to all women: she had a love so great for her lord, so intirely given up to a dear affection, that she thought the same things, and loved the same loves, and hated according to the same enmities, and breathed in his soul, and lived in his presence, and languished in his absence; and all that she was or did, was only for, and to, her dearest lord:

> Si gaudet, si flet, si tacet, hunc loquitur:
> Cœnat, propinat, poscit, negat, innuit, unus
> Nævius est:——*

and although this was a great enamel to the beauty of her soul, yet it might in some degrees be also a reward to the virtue of her lord: for she would often discourse it to them that conversed with her, that he would improve that interest which he had in her affection, to the advantages of God and of religion;

* Martial, i. 69.

and she would delight to say, that he called her to her devotions, he encouraged her good inclinations, he directed her piety, he invited her with good books; and then she loved religion, which she saw was not only pleasing to God, and an act or state of duty, but pleasing to her lord, and an act also of affection and conjugal obedience; and what at first she loved the more forwardly for his sake, in the using of religion, left such relishes on her spirit, that she found in it amability enough to make her love it for its own. So God usually brings us to him by instruments of nature and affections, and then incorporates us into his inheritance by the more immediate relishes of heaven, and the secret things of the Spirit. He only was, under God, the light of her eyes, and the cordial of her spirits, and the guide of her actions, and the measure of her affections, till her affections swelled up into a religion, and then it could go no higher, but was confederate with those other duties which made her dear to God: which rare combination of duty and religion I choose to express in the words of Solomon; 'She forsook not the guide of her youth, nor brake the covenant of her God.'*

6. As she was a rare wife, so she was an excellent mother: for in so tender a constitution of spirit as her's was, and in so great a kindness towards her children, there hath seldom been seen a stricter and more curious care of their persons, their deportment, their nature, their disposition, their learning, and their customs: and if ever kindness and care did contest, and make parties in her, yet her care and her severity were ever victorious; and she knew not how to do an ill turn to their severer part, by her more tender and forward kindness. And as her custom was, she turned this also into love to her lord: for she was not only diligent to have them bred nobly and religiously, but also was careful and solicitous that they should be taught to observe all the circumstances and inclinations, the desires and wishes, of their father; as thinking that virtue to have no good circumstances, which was not dressed by his copy, and ruled by his lines and his affections: and her prudence, in the managing her children, was so singular and rare, that whenever

* Prov. ii. 17.

you mean to bless this family, and pray a hearty and a profitable prayer for it, beg of God, that the children may have those excellent things which she designed to them, and provided for them in her heart and wishes; that they may live by her purposes, and may grow thither, whither she would fain have brought them. All these were great parts of an excellent religion, as they concerned her greatest temporal relations.

7. But if we examine how she demeaned herself towards God, there also you will find her not of a common, but of an exemplar piety: she was a great reader of Scripture, confining herself to great portions every day; which she read, not to the purposes of vanity and impertinent curiosities, not to seem knowing or to become talking, not to expound and rule; but to teach her all her duty, to instruct her in the knowlege and love of God and of her neighbors; to make her more humble, and to teach her to despise the world and all its gilded vanities; and that she might entertain passions wholly in design and order to heaven. I have seen a female religion that wholly dwelt on the face and tongue; that, like a wanton and an undressed tree, spends all its juice in suckers and irregular branches, in leaves and gum; and after all such goodly outsides, you should never eat an apple, or be delighted with the beauties or the perfumes of a hopeful blossom. But the religion of this excellent lady was of another constitution; it took root downward in humility, and brought forth fruit upward in the substantial graces of a Christian, in charity and justice, in chastity and modesty, in fair friendships and sweetness of society: she had not very much of the forms and outsides of godliness, but she was hugely careful for the power of it, for the moral, essential, and useful parts; such which would make her be, not seem to be, religious.

8. She was a very constant person at her prayers, and spent all her time, which nature did permit to her choice, in her devotions, and reading, and meditating, and the necessary offices of household government; every one of which is an action of religion, some by nature, some by adoption. To these also, God gave her a very great love to hear the word of God preached; in which, because I had sometimes the honor to minister to her, I can give this certain testimony, that she was

a diligent, watchful, and attentive hearer; and to this, had so excellent a judgment, that if ever I saw a woman whose judgment was to be revered, it was her's alone: and I have sometimes thought that the eminency of her discerning faculties did reward a pious discourse, and placed it in the regions of honor and usefulness, and gathered it up from the ground, where commonly such homilies are spilt, or scattered in neglect and inconsideration. But her appetite was not soon satisfied with what was useful to her soul: she was also a constant reader of sermons, and seldom missed to read one every day; and that she might be full of instruction and holy principles, she had lately designed to have a large book, in which she purposed to have a stock of religion transcribed in such assistances as she would choose, that she might be 'readily furnished and instructed to every good work.' But God prevented that, and hath filled her desires, not out of cisterns and little aqueducts, but hath carried her to the fountain, where 'she drinks of the pleasures of the river,' and is full of God.

9. She always lived a life of much innocence, free from the violences of great sins: her person, her breeding, her modesty, her honor, her religion, her early marriage, the guide of her soul, and the guide of her youth, were as so many fountains of restraining grace to her, to keep her from the dishonors of a crime. *Bonum est portare jugum ab adolescentia:* 'It is good to bear the yoke of the Lord from our youth:' and though she did so, being guarded, by a mighty Providence, and a great favor and grace of God, from staining her fair soul with the spots of hell, yet she had strange fears and early cares on her; but these were not only for herself, but in order to others, to her nearest relatives: for she was so great a lover of this honorable family, of which now she was a mother, that she desired to become a channel of great blessings to it unto future ages, and was extremely jealous lest any thing should be done, or lest any thing had been done, though an age or two since, which should entail a curse on the innocent posterity; and, therefore, (although I do not know that ever she was tempted with an offer of the crime) yet she did infinitely remove all sacrilege from her thoughts, and delighted to see her estate of a clear and disentangled interest: she would have no mingled rights with

it; she would not receive any thing from the church, but religion and a blessing; and she never thought a curse and a sin far enough off, but would desire it to be infinitely distant; and that as to this family God had given much honor, and a wise head to govern it, so he would also for ever give many more blessings: and because she knew the sins of parents descend on children, she endeavored, by justice and religion, by charity and honor, to secure that her channel should convey nothing but health, and a fair example, and a blessing.

10. And though her accounts of God were made up of nothing but small parcels, little passions, and angry words, and trifling discontents, which are the allays of the piety of the most holy persons; yet she was early at her repentance; and toward the latter end of her days, grew so fast in religion, as if she had had a revelation of her approaching end, and, therefore, that she must go a great way in a little time: her discourses more full of religion, her prayers more frequent, her charity increasing, her forgiveness more forward, her friendships more communicative, her passion more under discipline; and so she trimmed her lamp, not thinking her night was so near, but that it might shine also in the day-time, in the temple, and before the altar of incense.

But in this course of hers there were some circumstances, and some appendages of substance, which were highly remarkable.

1. In all her religion, and in all her actions of relation towards God, she had a strange evenness and untroubled passage, sliding toward her ocean of God and of infinity with a certain and silent motion. So have I seen a river, deep and smooth, passing with a still foot and a sober face, and paying to the *fiscus*, the great "exchequer" of the sea, the prince of all the watery bodies, a tribute large and full; and hard by it, a little brook skipping and making a noise on its unequal and neighbor bottom; and after all its talking and bragged motion, it paid to its common audit no more than the revenues of a little cloud or a contemptible vessel: so have I sometimes compared the issues of her religion to the solemnities and famed outsides of another's piety. It dwelt on her spirit, and was incorporated with the periodical work of every day: she did not believe that

religion was intended to minister to fame and reputation, but to pardon of sins, to the pleasure of God, and the salvation of souls. For religion is like the breath of heaven : if it goes abroad into the open air, it scatters and dissolves like camphire ; but if it enters into a secret hollowness, into a close conveyance, it is strong and mighty, and comes forth with vigor and great effect at the other end, at the other side of this life, in the days of death and judgment.

2. The other appendage of her religion, which also was a great ornament to all the parts of her life, was a rare modesty and humility of spirit, a confident despising and undervaluing of herself. For though she had the greatest judgment, and the greatest experience of things and persons, that I ever yet knew in a person of her youth, and sex, and circumstances; yet, as if she knew nothing of it, she had the meanest opinion of herself; and, like a fair taper, when she shined to all the room, yet round about her own station she had cast a shadow and a cloud, and she shined to every body but herself. But the perfectness of her prudence and excellent parts could not be hid; and all her humility and arts of concealment made the virtues more amiable and illustrious. For as pride sullies the beauty of the fairest virtues, and makes our understanding but like the craft and learning of a devil ; so humility is the greatest eminency and art of publication in the whole world : and she, in all her arts of secrecy and hiding her worthy things, was but 'like one that hideth the wind, and covers the ointment of her right hand.'

I know not by what instrument it happened ; but when death drew near, before it made any show on her body, or revealed itself by a natural signification, it was conveyed to her spirit : she had a strange secret persuasion that the bringing this child should be her last scene of life : and we have known, that the soul, when she is about to disrobe herself of her upper garment, sometimes speaks rarely ; *Magnifica verba mors prope admota excutit:** sometimes it is prophetical ; sometimes God, by a superinduced persuasion wrought by instruments, or accidents of his own, serves the ends of his own Providence, and the

* Sen. Troad. 575. Schrod. p. 429.

salvation of the soul: but so it was, that the thought of death dwelt long with her, and grew from the first steps of fancy and fear, to a consent,—from thence to a strange credulity, and expectation of it; and without the violence of sickness she died, as if she had done it voluntarily, and by design, and for fear her expectation should have been deceived; or that she should seem to have had an unreasonable fear or apprehension; or rather, as one said of Cato, *Sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi nactam se esse gauderet;* "she died as if she had been glad of the opportunity."

And in this I cannot but adore the providence and admire the wisdom and infinite mercies of God; for having a tender and soft, a delicate and fine constitution and breeding, she was tender to pain, and apprehensive of it as a child's shoulder is of a load and burden: *Grave est teneræ cervici jugum:* and in her often discourses of death, which she would renew willingly and frequently, she would tell, that "she feared not death, but she feared the sharp pains of death:" *Emori nolo, me esse mortuam non curo.* The being dead, and being freed from the troubles and dangers of this world, she hoped would be for her advantage, and therefore, that was no part of her fear; but she, believing the pangs of death were great, and the use and aids of reason little, had reason to fear lest they should do violence to her spirit, and the decency of her resolution. But God, that knew her fears and her jealousy concerning herself, fitted her with a death so easy, so harmless, so painless, that it did not put her patience to a severe trial. It was not in all appearance of so much trouble as two fits of a common ague, so careful was God to demonstrate to all that stood in that sad attendance, that this soul was dear to him,—and that since she had done so much of her duty towards it, he that began would also finish her redemption by an act of a rare providence and a singular mercy. Blessed be that goodness of God, who does so careful actions of mercy for the ease and security of his servants! But this one instance was a great demonstration, that the apprehension of death is worse than the pains of death; and that God loves to reprove the unreasonableness of our fears, by the mightiness and by the arts of his mercy.

She had in her sickness, if I may so call it,—or rather in the

solemnities and graver preparations towards death,—some curious and well-becoming fears concerning the final state of her soul; but from thence she passed into a *deliquium*, or "a kind of trance;" and as soon as she came forth of it, as if it had been a vision, or that she had conversed with an angel, and from his hand had received a label or scroll of the book of life, and there seen her name enrolled, she cried out aloud, "Glory be to God on high! now I am sure I shall be saved." Concerning which manner of discoursing we are wholly ignorant what judgment can be made; but, certainly, there are strange things in the other world, and so there are in all the immediate preparations to it: and a little glimpse of heaven, a minute's conversing with an angel, any ray of God, any communication extraordinary from the Spirit of comfort, which God gives to his servants in strange and unknown manners, are infinitely far from illusions, and they shall then be understood by us when we feel them, and when our new and strange needs shall be refreshed by such unusual visitations.

But I must be forced to use summaries and arts of abbreviature in the enumerating those things, in which this rare personage was dear to God and to all her relatives.

If we consider her person, she was in the flower of her age, *jucundum cum ætas florida ver ageret;** of a temperate, plain, and natural diet, without curiosity or an intemperate palate: she spent less time in dressing than many servants; her recreations were little and seldom, her prayers often, her reading much: she was of a most noble and charitable soul, a great lover of honorable actions, and as great a despiser of base things; hugely loving to oblige others, and very unwilling to be in arrear to any on the stock of courtesies and liberality: so free in all acts of favor, that she would not stay to hear herself thanked, as being unwilling that what good went from her to a needful or an obliged person, should ever return to her again. She was an excellent friend, and hugely dear to very many, especially to the best and most discerning persons; to all that conversed with her, and could understand her great worth and sweetness. She was of an honorable, a nice, and

* Catul. lxviii. 16.

tender reputation; and of the pleasures of this world, which were laid before her in heaps, she took a very small and inconsiderable share, as not loving to glut herself with vanity, or take her portion of good things here below.

If we look on her as a wife, she was chaste and loving, fruitful and discreet, humble and pleasant, witty and compliant, rich and fair; and wanted nothing to the making her a principal and precedent to the best wives of the world, but a long life and a full age.

If we remember her as a mother, she was kind and severe, careful and prudent, very tender, and not at all fond; a greater lover of her children's souls than of their bodies, and one that would value them more by the strict rules of honor and proper worth, than by their relation to herself.

Her servants found her prudent and fit to govern, and yet open-handed and apt to reward; a just exactor of their duty, and a great rewarder of their diligence.

She was in her house a comfort to her dearest lord, a guide to her children, a rule to her servants, an example to all.

But as she related to God in the offices of religion, she was even and constant, silent and devout, prudent and material; she loved what she now enjoys, and she feared what she never felt, and God did for her what she never did expect: her fears went beyond all her evil; and yet the good which she hath received, was, and is, and ever shall be, beyond all her hopes.

She lived as we all should live, and she died as I fain would die:

> Cum mihi supremos Lachesis perneverit annos,
> Non aliter cineres mando jacere meos.*

I pray God I may feel those mercies on my death-bed that she felt, and that I may feel the same effect of my repentance, which she feels of the many degrees of her innocence. Such was her death, that she did not die too soon; and her life was so useful and excellent, that she could not have lived too long: *Nemo parum diu vixit, qui virtutis perfectæ perfecto functus est munere.* And as now in the grave it shall not be inquired

* Mart. i. 89. 9.

concerning her, how long she lived, but how well; so to us, who live after her, to suffer a longer calamity,—it may be some ease to our sorrows, and some guide to our lives, and some security to our conditions, to consider that God hath brought the piety of a young lady to the early rewards of a never-ceasing and never-dying eternity of glory. And we also, if we live as she did, shall partake of the same glories; not only having the honor of a good name and a dear and honored memory, but the glories of these glories, the end of all excellent labors, and all prudent counsels, and all holy religion, even the salvation of our souls, in that day when all the saints, and among them this excellent woman, shall be shown to all the world to have done more, and more excellent things than we know of, or can describe. *Mors illos consecrat, quorum exitum, et qui timent, laudant:* "death consecrates and makes sacred that person, whose excellency was such, that they that are not displeased at the death, cannot dispraise the life; but they that mourn sadly, think they can never commend sufficiently."

THE WHOLE

DUTY OF THE CLERGY

IN

LIFE, BELIEF, AND DOCTRINE,

DESCRIBED,

AND PRESSED EFFECTUALLY ON THEIR CONSCIENCES,

IN

TWO SERMONS ON TIT. II. 7, 8.

PREACHED

AT SO MANY SEVERAL VISITATIONS.

SUMMARY OF SERMON IX.

TITUS, CHAP. II.—VERSES 7, 8.

PART I.

PRELIMINARY observations on the degrees and orders which God ordained when he first created the world, and also when he created it afresh under the gospel. All Christians are holy unto the Lord: Christians, however, must be not only holy, but eminently so, &c. But in this affair there are many steps and degrees of progression.

1. All God's people must be delivered from all sin.—Christ came to present his church *without spot or wrinkle.*

2. Christians must acquire all the graces of God's Holy Spirit. An Apostle gives the catalogue, 2 Pet. i. 5.

3. There is yet another degree to be added thereto: it is not enough for a Christian to be free from corruption, and to have these graces; but *they must be in us and abound:* this enlarged on.

4. There are yet three more steps beyond this. God requires of us perseverance: it is not sufficient to *dwell in holiness*, we must still pursue it, and that unto the end.

5. Besides this extension of duration, there must be intension of degree: we must aim at perfection: *be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect.*

6. And after all this, we must be so for ourselves, and we must also be so for others; we must be so to please God, and we must be so to edify our brethren. *Let your light so shine before men, that they may glorify your Father which is in heaven:* this enlarged on.

These considerations premised, as including the duty of all Christians whatsoever, and as a foundation to what is addressed to the clergy.

Ministers of the gospel are separated beyond this separation. God hath separated them again, and put them anew into the crucible: by them God intends to plant holiness in the hearts of men, &c.

To them these things are spoken properly, these powers really conveyed; and on them God hath poured his spirit plentifully, &c.: and if he accepts none of the people unless they have within them the conjugation of all Christian graces, it is scarcely possible to express by words that which God requires of his ministers. Here then is, 1. their duty: 2. the degrees and excellency of it.

The duty is double: 1. holiness of life: 2. integrity of doctrine. Both of these have their degrees.

1. The holiness of life and conversation that is befitting a minister of the gospel described. He must be a pattern to others.

2. Integrity of doctrine: four qualifications necessary: it must be incorrupt, grave and chaste, sound in speech, evidently demonstrated. Also it must be sincere, not polluted with foul intentions and devices of secular interest. But it is proposed to handle the duties and degrees of them together, &c. It is required of every minister, that in all things he show himself a pattern of good works. This is on all accounts necessary: 1. in general; 2. in particular.

I. In general. The very first words of the Psalter are an argument of this necessity. The primitive church would not admit a man to the superior orders of the clergy unless he could repeat all David's Psalter by heart, so wisely and mysteriously by God made preliminary to the whole office.

To the same purpose is the observation of St. Jerome concerning the vesting of the priests in the Levitical ministrations.

The words of David (Ps. l. 16, 17.) considered. The primitive church would admit no man to holy orders who had done public penance. Letters of P. Hormisda to the bishops of Spain commented on. But all this is general: there are considerations yet more particular and material.

1. A minister of an evil life cannot do so much good to his charges: he pulls down as fast or faster than he builds up: he is contemptible to his people; he cannot preach with fervor and efficacy; he cannot love to see others better than himself; and thus like will beget like.

2. A wicked minister cannot with success and benefit pray for the people of his charge: and this is a great matter; for prayer is the key of David, and God values it so highly, that Christ is made the prince of all intercession, &c.: this topic fully enlarged on.

3. The ecclesiastical order is by Christ appointed to minister his Holy Spirit to the people: but can he minister it, from whom the Spirit of God is departed? this enlarged on.

4. Consider, that every sin committed by a minister of religion, is more than one; and it is soon espied too; for more men look on the sun in an eclipse, than when he is in his beauty.

5. The accounts which an ungodly minister of religion shall make, must needs be intolerable, when the sins of his neglected flock shall be added to his own.

6. Every minister that leads an evil life, is that person whom our blessed Saviour means under the odious appellation of a hireling: this explained.

7. These things have been said, that you sin not: but this is not the great thing here intended: ministers may be innocent, and yet not *zealous of good works:* but if they be not this, they are not true ministers of Jesus Christ. Concluding pious exhortations.

PART II.

II. Rules and measures of doctrine, which ministers are to teach the people, next considered.

I. Let them be sure that they teach nothing but what is found in Scripture. This rule alone were sufficient to guide us, if we were not weak, wilful, ignorant, and abused, and if the holy Scriptures had not received so many interpretations and various meanings, &c.: this topic enlarged on. Some rules and advice given on this head.

1. Because it is not to be expected that every minister should have all the gifts of the Spirit, &c., they may make use of the labors of those worthy persons, whom God has raised up as lights to the world: several such recommended, &c. In the interpretation of Scripture there are ways of doing it well and wisely, without the too laborious methods of weary learning, &c.: therefore,

2. In all interpretation of Scripture, the literal sense is to be presumed and chosen, unless there be evident cause to the contrary: reasons for this: three corollaries mentioned, as consequent to this proposition.

3. We must remember that not the grammatical or prime signification of the word only is the literal sense; but whatsoever was the prime intention of the speaker, though the word to be taken metaphorically may signify more meanings than one: this topic dilated on: errors of different sects enumerated.

4. We must admit in the interpretation of Scripture but one literal sense; that is, but one prime literal sense, agreeably to the purity and simplicity of the Spirit of God, &c.

5. Yet others that are subordinate may be intended subordinately, &c.

6. Lastly, sometimes the literal sense is lost by a plain change of the words, which, when it is discovered, must be corrected by the fountain; and till it be, as long as it is pious and

commonly received, it may be used without scruple: this illustrated.

II. There is another sense or interpretation of Scripture; and that is mystical or spiritual: this explained. Some short rules given.

1. Though every place of Scripture hath a literal, yet every one hath not a spiritual or mystical sense; and, therefore, Origen was blamed for resolving all into spirit and mystery.

2. Whoever will draw spiritual senses from any history of the Old or New Testament, must first allow the literal sense, or else he will soon deny an article of necessary belief.

3. In moral precepts, &c., there is no other but the literal sense to be looked for.

4. If the letter of the story infers any indecency or contradiction, then it is necessary to look for a mystical sense: some other cases mentioned where it may be useful: folly of some mystical commentators displayed: instances of very absurd glosses given.

Some other rules for the more particular duty of ministers.

1. Though they are to teach the people nothing but what is the word of God, yet by this is to be understood all that God spake expressly, and all that by certain consequence can be deduced from it: this enlarged on. *Quest.* But how shall our reason be rightly guided in this case? To which it is answered,

2. In the making deductions, the first great measure to direct our reason and our inquiries is the analogy of faith: this explained, &c.

3. It is necessary also that we be very diligent in reading, assiduous in the studies of Scripture, &c.

4. Next to the analogy of faith, the consent of the Catholic church should be our measure, &c.: not indeed distinct from, much less against Scripture, for that were a contradiction: this enlarged on.

Next head of the Discourse. The doctrine of a minister

must be grave and reverend; without vain notions, pitiful contentions, &c.: the rules for which are easy.

1. Do not trouble the people with controversies, or with what engenders strife: this topic enlarged on.

2. Let not sermons and discourses be busy arguings about hard places of Scripture: this also enlarged on.

Third head of the Discourse. Let your speech be salutary and wholesome: rules given.

1. It is never out of season to preach good works: but when any one does this, let him not indirectly disgrace them, by telling how his adversaries spoil them: this topic enlarged on.

2. In deciding questions and cases of conscience, never strive to say what is pleasing, but what is profitable, &c.

Lastly, the Apostle requires of every minister of the gospel that his speech and doctrine should be unreprovable; not such against which no man can cavil, but such as deserves not blame: rules and advices given for this.

1. Be more careful to establish a truth than to reprove an error.

2. If any man have a revelation or discovery, be not too quick to condemn it: reasons for this given.

3. Let no man from his own head reprove the religion that is established by law and a just supreme authority: this explained.

4. Whatever Scripture you pretend for your doctrine, take heed that it be not chargeable with foul consequences: this explained and illustrated. If you will not have your doctrine reprehensible, *do nothing with offence.* Frame your life and preaching to the canons of the church, the doctrines of antiquity, and the sense of the Holy Fathers: reasons for this given. Concluding exhortations.

SERMON IX.

THE MINISTER'S DUTY IN LIFE AND DOCTRINE: IN TWO SERMONS.

TITUS, CHAP. II.—VERSES 7, 8.

In all things showing thyself a pattern of good works: in doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity;
Sound speech that cannot be condemned; that he that is of the contrary part, may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you.

PART I.

As God, in the creation of the world, first produced a mass of matter, having nothing in it but an obediential capacity and passivity; which God separating into classes of division, gave to every part a congruity to their respective forms, which, in their distinct orbs and stations, they did receive in order, and then were made beauteous by separations and a new economy; and out of these he appointed some for servants, and some for government; and some to eat, and some to be eaten; some above, and some below; some to be useful to all the rest, and all to minister to the good of man, whom he made the prince of the creation, and a minister of the divine glory;—so God hath also done in the new creation: all the world was concluded under sin; it was a corrupt mass; all mankind 'had corrupted themselves;' but yet were capable of divine influences, and of a nobler form, producible in the new birth: here then God's Spirit moves on the waters of a divine birth, and makes a separation of part from part, of corruption from corruption; and first chose some families to whom he communi-

cated the divine influences and the breath of a nobler life; Seth and Enoch, Noah and Abraham, Job and Bildad; and these were the special repositories of the divine grace, and prophets of righteousness to glorify God in themselves, and in their sermons unto others. But this was like enclosing of the sun: he that shuts him in, shuts him out; and God, who was, and is an infinite goodness, would not be circumscribed, and limited to a narrow circle: goodness is his nature, and infinite is his measure, and communication of that goodness is the motion of that Eternal Being: God, therefore, breaks forth as out of a cloud, and picks out a whole nation; the sons of Israel became his family, and that soon swelled into a nation, and that nation multiplied, till it became too big for their country, and by a necessary dispersion went, and did much good, and gained some servants to God out of other parts of mankind. But God was pleased to cast lots once more, and was like the sun already risen on the earth, who spreads his rays to all the corners of the habitable world, that all that will open their eyes and draw their curtains, may see and rejoice in his light. Here God resolved to call all the world; he sent into the highways and hedges, to the corners of the Gentiles, and the highways of the Jews; all might come that would; for 'the sound of the gospel went out into all lands:' and God chose all that came, but all would not; and those that did, he gathered into a fold, marked them with his own mark, sent his son to be 'the great Shepherd and Bishop of their souls,' and they became 'a peculiar people unto God,' 'a little flock,' 'a new election.'

And here is the first separation and singularity of the gospel: all that hear the voice of Christ's first call, all that profess themselves his disciples, all that take his signature, they and their children are the church, an ἐκκλησία, called out from the rest of the world, the 'elect' and the 'chosen of God.'

Now these being thus chosen out, culled and picked from the evil generations of the world, he separates them from others, to gather them to himself; he separates them and sanctifies them to become holy; to come out, not of the companies so much, as from the evil manners of the world: God chooses them unto holiness; they are τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, 'put in the right order to eternal life.'

All Christians are holy unto the Lord, and therefore must not be unholy in their conversation; for nothing that is unholy shall come near to God: that is the first great line of our duty: but God intends it farther: all Christians must not be only holy, but eminently holy. For 'John indeed baptised with water;' but that is but a dull and inactive element, and moves by no principle, but by being ponderous; Christ 'baptises with the Holy Ghost and with fire,' and God hates lukewarmness; and when he chooses to him a peculiar people, he adds, they must be 'zealous of good works.'

But in this affair there are many steps and great degrees of progression. 1. All God's people must be delivered from all sin; for as Christ came wholly 'to destroy the works of the devil,' so he intends also 'to present his church as a pure virgin unto Christ;' ἄσπιλον, ἀπρόσκοπον, εἰλικρινῆ, 'without scandal, without hypocrisy,' 'without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing:' for to be quit from sin, that is, from all affection to it, is supposed in the Christian's life: 'denying ungodliness and worldly lusts;' and 'being cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit,' and 'having escaped from all corruption that is in the world through lust;' this is not so much commanded as supposed: without this, nothing can be done, nothing can be hoped: this is but the foundation of the Christian, who is intended to be 'a habitation of God,' 'a member of Christ,' 'a temple of the holy Spirit of God:' the building follows.

2. All Christians must acquire all the graces of the holy Spirit of God; St. Peter gives the catalogue, 'faith, and virtue, and knowlege, and temperance, and patience, and godliness, and brotherly kindness, and charity:'* and that you may see what is the spirit of a Christian, what an activity and brisk principle is required to the acquisition of these things; the Apostle gives this precept, that for the acquiring these things, 'we should give' πᾶσαν σπουδὴν, 'all diligence:' no lazy worker is a good Christian; he must be diligent; and not every diligence, nor every degree of good diligence; but it must be all, *omnem omnino diligentiam*, 'give all diligence.'

* 2 Pet. i. 5.

3. There is yet another degree to be added hereto: it is not enough for a Christian to be free from corruption, and to have these graces; and therefore to be diligent, very diligent to obtain them; but 'they must be in us, and abound,'* N. B. they must be in us; these graces and this righteousness must be inherent; it is not enough for us that Christ had them for us; for it is true, if he had not had them, we should never have received those or any thing else that is good: but he had them, that we might have them, and follow his steps who knew no sin, and fulfilled all righteousness. They 'must be in us,' saith St. Peter; and not only so, they must also abound in us: that is the end of Christ's death; that is the fruit of his Spirit: they must be plentiful, like a full vintage, or like Euphrates in the time of ripe fruits; they must swell over the banks: for when they are but *in gradu virtutis*, "in the lowest step of sincerity," they may fall from the tree like unripe fruit, and be fit for nothing but for prodigals and swine; they must be in their season and period, great and excellent, and eminent; they must take up all our faculties, fill up all our time, spend all our powers, satisfy the will, and be adequate to all the powers of our choice; that is, as St. Peter adds, they must be so, that we 'make our calling and election sure;' so as that we shall never any more depart from God: well, thus far, you see how severe and sacred a thing it is to be a Christian.

4. But there are yet three steps more beyond this: God requires of us perseverance; a thrusting all this forward, even unto the end: 'without peace and holiness no man shall see God,'† saith the author to the Hebrews; but that is not all; *διώκετε εἰρήνην καὶ ἁγιασμὸν*, 'follow after peace and holiness with all men,' *ἄνευ οὗ*, 'without which;' it is not *ἄνευ τῆς εἰρήνης*, 'without which peace,' but *ἄνευ οὗ διώκειν*, 'without which following of peace and holiness;' that is, unless we endure all contradiction of sinners and objections; without following it close and home to the utmost issue, to the end of all righteousness, tending even to comprehension, to consummation and perfection, no man shall see God; *διωκεῖν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ*, is good and

* 2 Pet. i. 8. † Heb. xii. 14.

great, 'to dwell in holiness;' but that is not enough, it must be διώκειν too, we must still pursue it, and that unto the end: 'for he that endureth unto the end shall be saved.'

5. And what more? yes, there is something yet: for besides this extension of duration, there must be *intensio graduum:* for *nondum comprehendimus, nondum perfecti sumus;* 'we have not yet comprehended, we are not yet made perfect;' but that must be aimed at: 'Be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect;'—be 'ye meek as Christ is;'—'be ye holy as God is holy;'—'pure as your Father in heaven is pure;'—and who can be so? no man can be so in degree, but so in kind; every man must desire, and every man must contend to be, and therefore it is possible, else it had never been required.

6. And now, after all this, one thing more is to be done: you must be so for yourselves, and you must be so for others: you must be so to please God, and you must be so to edify your brethren: 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may glorify your Father which is in heaven:' let it be so eminent and conspicuous, that all that see your conversation, and all that come into your congregations, may be convinced, and 'falling down and worshipping, may say, of a truth, the Spirit of the Lord is in you.' And therefore our blessed Saviour, in his sermon on the mount, which is the summary of a Christian's life;—at the end of the eight beatitudes, tells all his followers and disciples, 'Ye are the salt of the world, ye are the light of the world;' and therefore 'the kingdom of heaven,' or the gospel, is compared 'to a woman that hid, in three measures of meal,'—the Jews, the Turks, the heathen idolaters,—'her leaven, till all was leavened:' our light must be so shining, our conversation so exemplar, as to draw all the world after us; that they that will not, may be ashamed, and they that will, may be allured by the beauty of the flame. These are the proportions and measures of every Christian; for 'from the days of John the Baptist, the kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and the violent take it by force;' that although 'John the Baptist was the greatest that ever was born of woman,' yet he that 'is least in the kingdom of heaven,' the meanest of the laity, may be 'greater than he.' This is a great height: and these things I have premised, not only to describe the duty of

all that are here present, even of all Christians whatsoever, that you may not depart without your portion of a blessing; but also as a foundation of the ensuing periods, which I shall address to you, my brethren of the clergy, the fathers of the people; for I speak in a school of the prophets, prophets and prophets' sons; to you who are, or intend to be so.

For God hath made a separation of you even beyond this separation: he hath separated you yet again: he hath put you anew into the crucible: he hath made you to pass through the fire seven times more. For it is true, that the whole community of the people is the church: *Ecclesia sancta est communio sanctorum*, "the holy catholic church is the communion of saints;" but yet, by the voice and consent of all Christendom, you are the church, by way of propriety, and eminency, and singularity; "churchmen,"—that is your appellative: all are ἄνδρες πνευματικοὶ, "spiritual men;" all have received the Spirit, and all walk in the Spirit, and ye are all 'sealed by the Spirit unto the day of redemption;' and yet there is a spirituality peculiar to the clergy: 'If any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness:'* you who are spiritual by office and designation, of a spiritual calling, and spiritual employment; you who have the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, and minister the Spirit of God, you are more eminently spiritual; you have the Spirit in graces and in powers, in sanctification and abilities, in office and in person; the unction from above hath descended on your heads and on your hearts; you are, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, "by way of eminency" and prelation, "spiritual men." All 'the people of God were holy;' Korah and his company were in the right so far; but yet Moses and Aaron were more holy, and stood nearer to God. All the people are prophets: it is now more than Moses's wish, for the Spirit of Christ hath made them so: 'If any man prayeth or prophesieth with his head covered,' or 'if any woman prophesieth with her head uncovered,' they are dishonored: but either man or woman may do that work in time and place; for 'in the latter days I will pour out of my Spirit, and your daughters shall prophesy;' and yet, God hath ap-

* Gal. vi. 1.

pointed in his church prophets above these, to whose Spirit all the other prophets are subject; and as God said to Aaron and Miriam concerning Moses, 'To you I am known in a dream or a vision, but to Moses I speak face to face;' so it is in the church; God gives of his Spirit to all men, but you he hath made the ministers of his Spirit: nay, the people have their portion of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, so said St. Paul; 'To whom ye forgive any thing, to him I forgive also;' and to the whole church of Corinth he gave a commission, 'in the name of Christ, and by his Spirit, to deliver the incestuous person unto Satan;' and when the primitive penitents stood in their penitential stations, they did *Caris Dei adgeniculari, et toti populo legationem orationis suæ commendare;* and yet the keys were not only promised, but given to the Apostles to be used then, and transmitted to all generations of the church; and we are 'ministers of Christ, and stewards of the manifold mysteries of God; and to us is committed the word of reconciliation.' And thus, in the consecration of the mysterious sacrament, the people have their portion; for the bishop or the priest blesses, and the people, by saying Amen to the mystic prayer, is partaker of the power, and the whole church hath a share in the power of spiritual sacrifice; 'Ye are a royal priesthood, kings and priests unto God;' that is, so ye are priests as ye are kings; but yet kings and priests have a glory conveyed to them, of which the people partake but in minority, and allegory, and improper communication: but you are, and are to be respectively that considerable part of mankind, by whom God intends to plant holiness in the world; by you God means to reign in the hearts of men; and therefore you are to be first in this kind, and consequently the measure of all the rest: to you, therefore, I intend this, and some following discourses, in order to this purpose: I shall but now lay the first stone, but it is the corner-stone in this foundation.

But to you, I say, of the clergy, these things are spoken properly; to you these powers are conveyed really; on you God hath poured his Spirit plentifully; you are the choicest of his choice, the elect of his election, a church picked out of the church, vessels of honor for your Master's use, appointed to

teach others, authorised to bless in his name; you are the ministers of Christ's priesthood, under-laborers in the great work of mediation and intercession, *medii inter Deum et populum;* you are for the people towards God, and convey answers and messages from God to the people: these things I speak, not only to magnify your office, but to enforce and heighten your duty; you are holy by office and designation, for your very appointment is a sanctification and a consecration; and therefore whatever holiness God requires of the people, who have some little portions in the priesthood evangelical, he expects it of you, and much greater, to whom he hath conveyed so great honors, and admitted so near unto himself, and hath made to be the great ministers of his kingdom and his Spirit: and now, as Moses said to the Levitical schismatics, Korah and his company, so I may say to you: 'Seemeth it but a small thing unto you, that the God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation of Israel to bring you to himself, to do the service of the tabernacle of the Lord, and to stand before the congregation to minister to them? And he hath brought thee near to him.'* Certainly, if of every one of the Christian congregation God expects a holiness that mingles with no unclean thing; if God will not suffer of them a lukewarm and an indifferent service, but requires zeal of his glory, and that which St. Paul calls the πόνος τῆς ἀγάπης, 'the labor of love;' if he will have them to be 'without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing;' if he will not endure any pollution in their flesh or spirit; if he requires that their bodies, and souls, and spirits be kept blameless unto the coming of the Lord Jesus; if he accepts of none of the people, unless they have within them the conjugation of all Christian graces; if he calls on them to abound in every grace, and that in all the period of their progression unto the ends of their lives, and to the consummation and perfection of grace; if he hath made them lights in the world, and the salt of the earth, to enlighten others by their good example, and to teach them, and invite them by holy discourses, and wise counsels, and speech seasoned with salt; what is it, think ye, or with

* Numb. xvi. 9.

what words is it possible to express what God requires of you? They are to be examples of good life to one another; but you are to be examples even of the examples themselves; that is your duty, that is the purpose of God, and that is the design of my text, 'That in all things ye show yourselves a pattern of good works; in doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech, that cannot be condemned: that he, that is of the contrary part, may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you.'

Here then is, 1. your duty: 2. the degrees and excellency of your duty.

The duty is double: 1. holiness of life: 2. integrity of doctrine. Both these have their heightenings, in several degrees.

1. For your life and conversation, it ought not only to be good, not only to be holy, but to be so up to the degrees of an excellent example; 'Ye must be a pattern.'

2. Ye must be patterns, not only of knowlege and wisdom, not of contemplation and skill in mysteries, not of unprofitable notions, and ineffective wit and eloquence; but of something that is more profitable, of something that may do good, something by which mankind shall be better; of something that shall contribute to the felicity and comfort of the world; 'a pattern of good works.'

3. It must not be a τύπος, 'a type' or pattern to be hidden or laid in tabernacles, like those images of Moloch and Remphan, which the Spirit of God in the Old Testament calls סכות בנות 'Succoth Benoth,' little repositories or booths to hide their images and patterns of their gods; but παρεχόμενος τύπον, 'you must be exhibited' and shown forth, brought forth into action and visibility, and notorious observation.

4. There is also another mystery and duty in this word; for Moloch and Remphan, they were patterns and figures, but they were τύποι οὓς ἐποιήσαντο, 'patterns which the people made;' —but to Titus St. Paul commanded that he himself should be παρεχόμενος τύπον, 'he should give a pattern' to the people; that is, the ministers of Christ must not be framed according to the people's humor; they must not give him rules, nor describe his measures; but he should be a rule to them: he is neither

to live with them, so as to please their humors, or to preach doctrines *populo ut placerent, quas fecisset fabulas:** but the people are to require the doctrine at his mouth, and he is to become exemplar to them, according to the pattern seen in the mount, according to the laws of the religion and the example of Christ.

5. It must be ἐν πᾶσιν: he must be a pattern 'in all things:' it is not enough that the minister be a loving person, a good neighborly man, that he be hospitable, that he be not litigious, that he be harmless, and that he be diligent; but in every grace he must *præferre facem*, "hold a torch," and show himself a light in all the commands of God. These are the measures of his holiness, the pattern in his life and conversation.

Secondly; integrity of doctrine. The matter of the doctrine you are to preach, hath in it four qualifications.

1. It must be ἀδιάφθορος, 'incorrupt;' that is, it must be κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως, it must be 'according to the analogy of faith,' no heretical mixtures, pure truths of God.

2. It must be σεμνὸς, 'grave,' and clean, and chaste; that is, ἄνευ φλυαρίας, no vain and empty notions, little contentions, and pitiful disputes; but becoming the wisdom of the guide of souls, and the ministers of Christ.

And, 3. It must be ὑγιὴς, 'sound speech,' so we read it: the word properly signifies 'salutary' and 'wholesome;' that is, such as is apt for edification, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης, 'for the building men up in a most holy faith, and a more excellent charity;' not feeding the people with husks and draff, with colocynths and gourds, with gay tulips and useless daffodils, but with the bread of life, and medicinal plants, springing from the margin of the fountains of salvation. This is the matter of their doctrine; and this also hath some heightenings, and excellences, and extraordinaries: for,

4. It must be ἀκατάγνωστος, so evidently demonstrated, that 'no man shall be able to reprove it;' so certainly holy, that no man shall be willing to condemn it.

And, 5. It must be ἄφθαρτος, 'sincere,' not polluted with foul intentions and little devices of secular interests, complying

* Terent. Andr. Prolog. 3.

with the lusts of the potent, or the humors of the time; not biassed by partiality, or bending in the flexures of human policy: it must be so conducted that your very enemies, schismatics and heretics, and all sorts of gainsayers, may see that you intend God's glory, and the good of souls; and, therefore, that as they can say nothing against the doctrine delivered, so neither shall they find fault with him that delivers it: and he that observes all this, will indeed be a pattern both of life and doctrine, both of good words and good works.

But I shall not be so minute in my discourse, as in the division; the duties, and the manner or degrees of the duties, I shall handle together, and give you the best measures I can, both for institution of life and excellency of doctrine:—it is required of every one of you, that in all things you show yourselves a pattern of good works.

That is the first thing required in a minister: and this is, on infinite accounts, necessary: 1. in general: 2. in particular.

I. In general. The very first words of the whole Psalter are an argument of this necessity: 'Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the chair of the mockers,' the seat of the scornful. The doctor's chair or pulpit must have nothing to do with the *irrisores*, that mock God, and mock the people; he must neither walk with them, nor stand with them, nor sit with them; that is, he must 'have no fellowship with the unfruitful workers of darkness, but rather reprove them;' for they that do preach one thing, and do another, are לצים, 'mockers;' they destroy the benefit of the people, and diminish the blessings of God; and, 'binding burdens on the people's shoulders which they will not touch with the top of their finger,' they secretly laugh and mock at the people, as at the asses of Issachar, fit to be cozened into unnecessary burdens. These words are greatly to be regarded: the primitive church would admit no man to the superior orders of the clergy, unless, among other prerequired dispositions, he could say all David's Psalter by heart; and it was very well, besides many other reasons, that they might in the front read their own duty, so wisely and so mysteriously, by the Spirit of God, made preliminary to the whole office.

To the same purpose is that observation of St. Jerome made concerning the vesting of the priests in the Levitical ministrations: the priest put on the humeral, beset with precious stones, before he took the λόγιον, or the *rationale*, on his breast, to signify, that first the priest must be a shining light, resplendent with good works, before he fed them with the γάλα λογικὸν, 'the rational milk' of the word: concerning which symbolical precept, you may please to read many excellent things to this purpose, in St. Jerome's epistle to Fabiola. It will be more useful for us to consider those severe words of David: 'But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth? seeing thou hatest instruction and casteth my words behind thee.'* The words are a sad upbraiding to all ungodly ministers, and they need no commentary; for whatever their office and employment be to teach God's people, yet, unless they regard the commandments of God in their heart and practice themselves, they have nothing to do with the word of God, —they sin in taking the covenant, a testament of God, into their mouth. God said to the sinner, רשע 'Raschaah,' that is, 'to him that had sinned and had not repented of his sins;' so the Chaldee paraphrase reads it; *Impio autem, qui non agit pœnitentiam, et orat in prævaricatione, dixit Deus.* Indeed, if none could be admitted to this ministry but those who had never sinned, the harvest might be very great, but the laborers would be extremely few, or rather none at all; but, after repentance, they must be admitted, and not before; *Iniquitas oppilabit os eorum*, 'iniquity shall stop their mouths,' saith David;† that ought to silence them indeed: and this was David's care, when he had fallen into the foul crimes of murder and adultery; he knew himself unfit and unable, though he were a prophet, to teach others the laws of God; but when he prayed to God to restore him to a free spirit, he adds, 'Then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee:‡ till then it was to no purpose for him to preach. 'But thou, when thou art converted,' said Christ to Peter, 'strengthen the brethren.' The primitive church had a degree

* Psal. l. 16, 17. † Psal. cvii. 42. ‡ Psal. li. 13.

of severity beyond this; for they would not admit any man, who had done public penance, to receive holy orders: to which purpose they were excellent words which P. Hormisda spake in his letters to the bishops of Spain, in which he exhorts them to the observation of the ancient canons of the church, telling them that "they who are promoted to the clergy, ought to be better than others;" *nam longa debet vitam suam probatione monstrare, cui gubernacula committuntur ecclesiæ: non negamus, &c.* we deny not but amongst the laity there are many whose manners are pleasing to God, but the faithful laws of God seek for him soldiers that are approved; and they ought rather to afford to others, by themselves, an example of a religious life, than require it from them; *ideoque nullus ex pœnitentibus debet ordinari; quis enim, quem paulo ante jacentem viderat, veneretur antistitem?* "None of the public penitents must be ordained; for who will esteem that priest venerable, whom a little before he saw dishonored by scandalous and public crimes?" But this is to be understood of them only, as the prophet Amos expresses it, *qui corripiuntur in porta*, 'who are rebuked in the gate,'* condemned by public sentence, and are blotted with the reproaches of the law. But in all cases,

Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

The guilt of the sin which a man reproves, quite spoils his sermon: *ipsam obmutescere facundiam, si ægra sit conscientia*, said St. Ambrose; "a sick conscience spoils the tongue of the eloquent, and makes it stammer." For how shall any man preach against sin, or affright his people from their dangers, if he denies God's justice? and if he thinks God is just, why is not he confounded, that, with his own mouth, pronounces damnation against himself? Nothing confounds a man so much, as to be judged out of his own mouth: *Esse munda studeat manus, quæ diluere sordes curat*, said St. Gregory; "the hand that means to make another clean, should not itself be dirty." But all this is but in general; there are yet considerations more particular and material.

1. A minister of an evil life cannot do so much good to his

* Amos, v. 10.

charges; he cannot profit them, he is not useful εἰς οἰκοδομὴν, he pulls down as fast, or faster, than he builds up. *Talmud absque opere non est magnum Talmud*, said the Jews' proverb: "a good sermon without a good example is no very good sermon." For, besides that such a man is contemptible to his people, contemptible, not only naturally, but by divine judgment; (according to that of the prophet, *Propter quod dedi vos contemptibiles omni populo*, 'for this very reason I have made you to be scorned in the eyes of all the people,'*) but besides this, it is very considerable what St. Chrysostom says: *Si prædicas et non facis, opus proponis tanquam impossibile*, "he that preaches mortification and lives voluptuously, propounds the duty as if it were impossible:" for certainly, if it be good, and if it be possible, a man will ask, why is it not done? It is easy for him that is well to give a sick man counsel: *Verum tu si hic esses, certe aliter sentires;* when it comes to be his own case, when the sickness pinches, and when the belly calls for meat, where's the fine oration then? *Omnia quæ vindicaris in altero, tibi ipsi vehementer fugienda sunt: etenim non modo accusator, sed ne objurgator ferendus est is, qui, quod in altero vitium reprehendit, in eo ipse deprehenditur:* "whatsoever you reprove in others, must be infinitely avoided by yourself; for no man will endure an accuser, no nor so much as a man to chide, for that fault in which himself was taken."† But if your charges see you bear your sickness patiently, and your cross nobly, and despise money generously, and forgive your enemy bravely, and relieve the poor charitably, then he sees your doctrine is tangible and material; it is more than words, and he loves you, and considers what you say. In the East the shepherds used to go before their sheep, to which our blessed Saviour alludes, 'My sheep hear my voice and follow me:' but our shepherds are forced to drive them, and affright them with dogs and noises: it were better if themselves did go before.

2. A minister of an evil life cannot preach with that fervor and efficacy, with that life and spirit, as a good man does; for besides that he does not himself understand the secrets of religion, and the private inducements of the Spirit, and the sweetness of

* Mal. ii. † Cic. in Verr. Act. ii. lib. 3.

internal joy, and the inexpressible advantages of a holy peace; besides this, he cannot heartily speak all that he knows; he hath a clog at his foot, and a gag in his teeth; there is a fear, and there is a shame, and there is a guilt, and a secret willingness that the thing were not true; and some little private arts to lessen his own consent, and to take off the asperities and consequent troubles of a clear conviction. To which if we add, that there is a secret envy in all wicked men against the prosperities of goodness; and if I should say no more, this alone were enough to silence a Boanerges, and to make his thunder still and easy as an oaten pipe: *Nonne id flagitium est, te aliis consilium dare, foris sapere, tibi non posse auxiliari?* "That 's a burning shame and an intolerable wickedness, that a minister shall be like Marcotis, or the statue of Mercury, show the way to others, and himself stand still like a painted block; to be wise abroad, and a very fool in his own concerns, and unable to do himself good."—*Dicit Reslakis, orna teipsum, postea ornate alios:* "first trim thyself, and then adorn thy brother," said the rabbins: but certain it is, he that cannot love to see others better than himself, it cannot be that he should heartily endeavor it.

> Scilicet expectas, ut tradat mater honestos,
> Atque alios mores, quam quos habet? utile porro
> Filiolam turpi vetulæ producere turpem.*

It is not to be expected that a diseased father should beget wholesome children: like will come from like, whether the principle be good or evil.

But, secondly; for this is but the ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων: this is but the least evil; there is yet much worse behind. A wicked minister cannot with success and benefit pray for the people of his charges; and this is a great matter: for prayer is the key of David, and God values it at so high a rate, that Christ is made the prince of all intercession, and God hath appointed angels to convey to his throne of grace the prayers of the saints; and he hath made prophets and priests, even the whole clergy, the peculiar ministers of prayer: *Orabit pro eo sacerdos;*

* Juvenal, vi. 206.

"the priest shall pray for him;" 'the priest shall make an atonement for his sin, and it shall be forgiven him.'* And God's anger is no where more fiercely described, than when things come to that pass that he will not hear the priest or prophet praying for the people: 'Pray not thou for this people, neither lift up prayer nor cry for them, neither make intercession to me; for behold mine anger and my fury shall be poured out on this place.'† When the prayers of the gracious and acceptable persons, the presidents of prayer are forbidden, then things are desperate; it is a greater excommunication; 'the man sins a sin unto death; and I say not that thou pray for him, that sins unto death.' This, I say, is the priest's office; and if the people lose the benefit of this, they are undone. To bishop Timothy, St. Paul gave it in charge, 'That supplications, and prayers, and intercessions, be made for all men.' And St. James advised 'the sick to send for the elders of the church,' (the bishops and priests,) 'and let them pray over them,' and then 'their sins shall be forgiven them.' But how? that is supposed, the minister prays fervently, and be a righteous man; for 'the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much;' it is promised on no other terms. *Qualis vir, talis oratio*, is an old rule: "as is the man, such is his prayer."—'The prayer of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord,' said Solomon; he cannot prevail for himself, much less for others. I remember that Bias being once in a storm, and a company of villains, in the ship, being affrighted, called on their gods for help; *Cavete*, said he, *ne vos Dii interesse sentiant:* "take heed lest the gods perceive you to be here," lest we all perish for your sakes. And on surer grounds it was that David said, 'If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear my prayer.' And what then do you think will be the event of those assemblies, where he that presents the prayers of all the people, is hateful to God? will God receive the oblation that is presented to him by an impure hand? The Levitical priests were commanded to wash before they sacrificed:‡ and every man is commanded to repent before

* Lev. iv. 35. † Jer. vii. 16. 20.

‡ Exod. xxx. 40.

he prays; 'My son, hast thou sinned, do so no more;' and then, 'ask pardon for thy former fault.'* And can we hope that the minister, who, 'with wrath and doubting,' and covetousness, presents the people's prayers, that ever those intercessions shall pierce the clouds, and ascend to the mercy-seat, and descend with a blessing? Believe it not: a man that is ungracious in his life, can never be gracious in his office, and acceptable to God. We are abundantly taught this, by those excellent words of God, by the prophet Micah: 'The heads of Sion judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money; yet will they lean on the Lord, and say, is not the Lord among us?'† As if God had said, nothing is so presumptuous and unreasonable as to lean on God, and think he will be among us, when the priests and the prophets are covetous and wicked. No, he declares it expressly, (v. 7.) 'Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the diviners confounded; yea, they shall all cover their lips; for there is no answer of God.' God will not answer; for sometimes the case is so, that, 'though Noah, Daniel, and Job were there,' God would not hear; that is, when the people are incorrigibly wicked, and the decree is irrevocably gone out for judgment. But there are other times, in which the prayers of innocent people, being presented by an ungracious minister and intercessor, are very much hindered in prevailing. In such cases, God is put to extraordinaries; and Christ and Christ's angels are then the suppletories, and, at the best, the people's prayers go alone; they want the assistance of the 'angel of the church,' and they get no help or furtherance from him, and probably very much hinderance; according to that of St. Gregory, *Cum is qui displicet ad intercedendum mittitur, irati animus ad deteriora provocatur.* Alexander hated to see Zercon, and, therefore, if he had interceded for Clytus, it would but have hastened his death: a man's suit thrives the worse for having a hated intercessor. If, therefore, he that robs a church of a patin or a chalice, be a sacrilegious person, what is he that steals from the church of God, so far as lies in him, the fruit of all their holy prayers; that corrupts the sacrifice,

* Ecclus. † cap. iii. 11.

and puts coloquintida into the cups of salvation, and mingles death in the pottage provided for the children and disciples of the prophets? I can say no more, but to expostulate with them in those upbraiding words of God, in the prophet: 'Do they provoke me to anger? saith the Lord: do they not provoke themselves to the confusion of their own faces?'* *Confundentur divini, et operient vultus suos omnes:*† 'all such diviners shall be confounded, and shall cover their faces in the day of sad accounts.' *Divini sunt, non theologi:* 'they are diviners, not divines,' witches rather than prophets; they are the sons of Bosor, and have no portion in the economy of God. In short, if so much holiness as I formerly described, be required of him that is appointed to preach to others, to offer spiritual sacrifices for the people, to bless the people, to divert judgments from them, to deprecate the wrath of God, to make an atonement for them, and to reconcile them to the eternal mercy;—certain it is, that though the sermons of a wicked minister may do some good, not so much as they ought, but some they can; but the prayer of a wicked minister does no good at all; it provokes God to anger; it is an abomination in his righteous eyes.

Thirdly, the ecclesiastical order is by Christ appointed to minister his Holy Spirit to the people; the priests, in baptism, and the holy eucharist, and prayer, and intercession; the bishop, in all these, and in ordination besides, and in confirmation, and in solemn blessing: now then consider what will be the event of this without effect: can he minister the Spirit, from whom the Spirit of God is departed? And, therefore, since all wickedness does 'grieve the Spirit of God,' and great wickedness defiles his temples, and destroys them unto the ground, and extinguishes the Spirit that drives iniquity away;—these persons are no longer spiritual men; 'they are carnal, and sold under sin,' and walk not in the Spirit; they are spiritual just as Simon Magus was a Christian, or as Judas was an Apostle; he had the name of it; but what says the Scripture? 'He fell from it by transgression:' only this; as he that is baptised, has for ever a title to the promises, and a possibility

* Jer. vii. 19. † Mic. iii. 7.

of repentance, and a right to restitution, until he renounces all, and never will or can repent; so there is in all our holy orders an indelible character, and they can, by a new life, be-restored to all their powers; but, in the mean time, while they abide in sin and carnality, the cloud is over the face of the sun, and the Spirit of God appears not in a fiery tongue, that is, not in material and active demonstrations; and how far he will be ministered by the offices of an unworthy man, we know not; only by all that is said in Scripture we are made to fear, that things will not be so well with the people, till the minister be better; only this we are sure of, that though one man may be much the worse for another man's sin, yet, without his own fault, no man shall perish; and God will do his work alone; and the Spirit of God, though he be ordinarily conveyed by ecclesiastical ministries, yet he also comes irregularly, and in ways of his own, and prevents the external rites, and prepossesses the hearts of his servants; and the people also have so much portion in the evangelical ministration, that if they be holy, they shall receive the Holy Ghost in their hearts, and will express him in their lives, and themselves also become kings and priests unto God, while they are zealous of good works. And to this purpose may the proverb of the Rabbins be rightly understood, *Major est qui respondit Amen, quam qui benedicit;* "He that says Amen, is greater than he that blesses or prays;" meaning, if he heartily desires what the other perfunctorily, and with his lips only utters, not praying with his heart, and with the acceptabilities of a good life, the Amen shall be more than all the prayer, and the people shall prevail for themselves, when the priest could not; according to the saying of Midrasich Tehillim:—*Quicunque dicit Amen omnibus viribus suis, ei aperiuntur portæ Paradisi, sicut dictum est, 'et ingredietur gens justa;'* "He that says Amen with his whole power, to him the gates of Paradise shall be open, according to that which is said,—'and the righteous nation shall enter in.'" And this is excellently discoursed of by St. Austin, *Sacramentum gratiæ dat etiam Deus per malos; ipsam vero gratiam non nisi per seipsum, vel per sanctos suos;* and, therefore, he gives remission of sins by himself, or by the members of the Dove; so that good men shall be sup-

plied by God. But as this is an infinite comfort to the people, so it is an intolerable shame to all wicked ministers: the benefit which God intended to minister by them, the people shall have without their help, and whether they will or no; but because the people get nothing by their ministration, or but very little, the ministers shall never have their portion where the good people shall inhabit to eternal ages: and I beseech you to consider what an infinite confusion that will be at the day of judgment, when they, to whom you have preached righteousness, shall enter into everlasting glory, and you, who have preached it, shall have the curse of Hanameel, and the reward of Balaam, 'the wages of unrighteousness.' But thus it was, when the wise men asked the doctors where Christ should be born, they told them right; but the wise men went to Christ, and found him; and the doctors sat still, and went not.

Fourthly; consider, that every sin which is committed by a minister of religion, is more than one, and it is as soon espied too; for more men look on the sun in an eclipse, than when he is in his beauty: but every spot, I say, is greater, every mote is a beam: it is not only made so, but it is so: it hath not the excuses of the people, is not pitiable by the measures of their infirmity: and, therefore, 1. it is reckoned in the accounts of malice, never of ignorance: for ignorance itself, in them, is always a double sin; and, therefore, it is very remarkable, that when God gave command to the Levitical priests to make atonement for the sins of ignorance in the people, there is no mention made of the priests' sin of ignorance; God supposed no such thing in them, and Moses did not mention it, and there was no provision made in that case, as you may see at large in Levit. iv. and Numb. xv.* But, 2. because every priest is a man also, observe how his sin is described, Levit. iv. 3. 'If the priest that is anointed do sin according to the sin of the people;' that is, if he be so degenerate, and descend from the glory where God hath placed him, and do sin after the manner of the people, then he is to proceed to remedy: intimating that it is infinitely besides expectation; it is a strange thing, it is like a monstrous production; it is unnatural that a priest should sin, according

* Vide Origen. Homil. ii. in Levit.

as the people do; however, if he does, it is not connived at with a sentence gentle, as that finds which is a sin of ignorance, or the sin of the people: no, it is not; for it is always malice, it is always uncharitableness; for it brings mischief to their congregations, and contracts their blessings into little circuits, and turns their bread into a stone, and their wine to vinegar: and then, besides this, 3. it is also scandalous, and then it is infinitely against charity; such ministers make the people of God to sin, and that is against the nature of their office, and design of their persons: God sent them to bring the people from sin, and not to be like so many Jeroboams, the sons of Nebat, to set forward the devil's kingdom, to make the people to transgress the covenant of their God: for they who live more by example than by precept, will more easily follow the works of their minister than the words of God; and few men will aspire to be more righteous than their guide; they think it well if they be as he is: and hence it is no wonder that we see iniquity so popular. *Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam;** every man runs after his lusts, and after his money, because they see too many of the clergy little looking after the ways of godliness. But then consider, let all such persons consider,

5. That the accounts, which an ungodly and an irreligious minister of religion shall make, must needs be intolerable; when, besides the damnation which shall certainly be inflicted on them for the sins of their own lives, they shall also reckon for all the dishonors they do to God and to religion, and for all the sins of the people, which they did not, in all just ways, endeavor to hinder, and all the sins which their flocks have committed by their evil example and undisciplined lives.

6. I have but two words more to say in this affair: Every minister that lives an evil life, is that person whom our blessed Saviour means under the odious appellative of a 'hireling;' for he is not the hireling that receives wages, or that lives of the altar: *sine farina non est lex*, said the doctors of the Jews; 'without bread-corn no man can preach the law:' and St. Paul, though he spared the Corinthians, yet he took wages of other churches, of all, but in the regions of Achaia; and the

* Juv. xv. 8. Rupert.

law of nature and the law of the gospel have taken care, that 'he that serves at the altar should live of the altar;' and he is no hireling for all that; but he is a hireling that does not do his duty; he that 'flies when the wolf comes,' says Christ, he that is not present with them in dangers, that helps them not to resist the devil, to master their temptations, to invite them on to piety, to gain souls to Christ; to him it may be said, as the Apostle did of the Gnostics, εὐσέβειά ἐστι πορισμὸς, 'Gain to them is godliness;' and theology is but *artificium venale*, a trade of life, to fill the belly, and keep the body warm. *An cuiquam licere putas, quod cuivis non licet?* "Is any thing lawful for thee, that is not lawful for every man?" and if thou dost not mind, in thy own case, whether it be lawful or no, then thou dost but sell sermons, and give counsel at a price, and, like a fly in the temple, taste of every sacrifice, but do nothing but trouble the religious rites: for certain it is, no man takes on him this office, but he 'either seeks those things which are his own, or those things which are Jesus Christ's;' and if he does this, 'he is a minister of Jesus Christ;' if he does the other, he is 'the hireling,' and intends nothing but his belly, and 'God shall destroy both it and him.'

7. Lastly; these things I have said unto you, that ye sin not: but this is not the great thing here intended; you may be innocent, and yet not 'zealous of good works;' but if you be not this, you are not good ministers of Jesus Christ: but, that this is infinitely your duty, and indispensably incumbent on you all, besides the express words of my text, and all the precepts of Christ and his Apostles, we have the concurrent sense of the whole church, the laws and expectations of all the world, requiring of the clergy a great and an exemplar sanctity; for, therefore it is, that, on this necessity, is founded the doctrine of all divines in their discourses of the states and orders of religion; of which you may largely inform yourselves in Gerson's treatise *De Perfectione Religionis*, in Aquinas,* and in all his scholars on that question; the sum of which is this, that all those institutions of religions, which St. Anselm

* 22 q. 184.

calls *factitias religiones*, that is, the schools of discipline in which men, forsaking the world, give themselves up wholly to a pious life, they are indeed very excellent if rightly performed; they are *status perfectionis acquirendæ*, they are excellent institutions "for the acquiring perfection;" but the state of the superior clergy is *status perfectionis exercendæ*, they are states which suppose perfection to be already in great measures acquired, and then to be exercised, not only in their own lives, but in the whole economy of their office: and, therefore, as none are to be chosen but those who have given themselves up to the strictness of a holy life,—so far as can be known; so none do their duty, so much as tolerably, but those who, by an exemplar sanctity, become patterns to their flocks of all good works. Herod's doves could never have invited so many strangers to their dove-cotes, if they had not been besmeared with opobalsamum: but ἐὰν μύρῳ χρίσῃς τὰς περιστερὰς, καὶ ἔξωθεν ἄλλας ἄξουσιν, said Didymus;* "Make your pigeons smell sweet, and they will allure whole flocks;" and if your life be excellent, if your virtues be like a precious ointment, you will soon invite your charges to run *in odorem unguentorum*, "after your precious odors:" but you must be excellent, not *tanquam unus de populo*, but *tanquam homo Dei;* you must be a man of God, not after the common manner of men, but 'after God's own heart;' and men will strive to be like you, if you be like to God: but when you only stand at the door of virtue, for nothing but to keep sin out, you will draw into the folds of Christ none but such as fear drives in. *Ad majorem Dei gloriam*, "to do what will most glorify God," that is the line you must walk by: for to do no more than all men needs must, is servility, not so much as the affection of sons; much less can you be fathers to the people, when you go not so far as the sons of God: for a dark lantern, though there be a weak brightness on one side, will scarce enlighten one, much less will it conduct a multitude, or allure many followers, by the brightness of its flame. And indeed, the duty appears in this, that many things are lawful for the people, which are scandalous in the clergy: you are tied to more abstinences, to more

* Geoponic. lib. 14.

severities, to more renunciations and self-denials: you may not with that freedom receive secular contentments that others may; you must spend more time in prayers, your alms must be more bountiful, your hands more open, your hearts enlarged: others must relieve the poor, you must take care of them; others must show themselves their brethren, but you must be their fathers; they must pray frequently and fervently, but you must give your 'selves up wholly to the word of God and prayer;' they must 'watch and pray, that they fall not into temptation,' but you must watch for yourselves and others too; the people must mourn when they sin, but you must mourn for your own infirmities, and for the sins of others; and indeed, if the life of a clergyman does not exceed even the piety of the people, that life is, in some measure, scandalous: and what shame was ever greater than is described in the parable of the traveller going from Jerusalem to Jericho, when, to the eternal dishonor of the Levite and the priest, it is told that they went aside, and saw him with a wry neck and a bended head, but let him alone, and left him to be cured by the good Samaritan? The primitive church in her discipline used to thrust their delinquent clergy *in laicam communionem*, even then when their faults were but small, and of less reproach than to deserve greater censures; yet they lessened them by thrusting them "into the lay communion," as most fit for such ministers who refused to live at the height of sacerdotal piety. Remember your dignity, to which Christ hath called you: 'Shall such a man as I flee?' said the brave Eleazar: shall the stars be darkness, shall the ambassadors of Christ neglect to do their king honor, shall the glory of Christ do dishonorable and inglorious actions? 'Ye are the glory of Christ,' saith St. Paul; remember that,—I can say no greater thing; unless possibly this may add some moments for your care and caution, that *potentes potenter cruciabuntur*, "great men shall be greatly tormented," if they sin; and to fall from a great height is an intolerable ruin. Severe were the words of our blessed Saviour, 'Ye are the salt of the earth; if the salt have lost his savor, it is thenceforth good for nothing, neither for land, nor yet for the dunghill:' a greater dishonor could not be expressed; he that takes such a one up, will shake his

fingers. I end this with the saying of St. Austin, "Let your religious prudence think, that, in the world, especially at this time, nothing is more laborious, more difficult, or more dangerous, than the office of a bishop, or a priest, or a deacon;" *sed apud Deum nihil beatius, si eo modo militetur quo noster imperator jubet:* "but nothing is more blessed, if we do our duty according to the commandment of our Lord."*

I have always discoursed of the integrity of life, and what great necessity there is, and how deep obligations lie on you, not only to be innocent and void of offence, but also to be holy; not only pure, but shining; not only to be blameless, but to be didactic in your lives; that as, by your sermons, you preach in season, so, by your lives, you may preach out of season; that is, at all seasons, and to all men, that they, 'seeing your good works, may glorify God' on your behalf, and on their own.

SERMON IX.

PART II.

II. Now, by the order of the words, and my own undertaking, I am to tell you what are the rules and measures of your doctrine, which you are to teach the people.

I. Be sure that you teach nothing to the people but what is certainly to be found in Scripture: *Servemus eas mensuras, quas nobis per legislatorem lex spiritualis enunciat;* "The whole spiritual law given us by our lawgiver, that must be our measures;"† for, though by persuasion and by faith, by mispersuasion and by error, by false commentaries and mistaken glosses, every man may become a law unto himself, and unhappily bind on his conscience burdens which Christ never im-

* Epist. 148. † Origen.

posed; yet you must bind nothing on your charges but what God hath bound on you; you cannot become a law unto them; that is the only privilege of the lawgiver, who, because he was an interpreter of the divine will, might become a law unto us; and because he was faithful in all the house, did tell us all his Father's will; and, therefore, nothing can be God's law to us, but what he hath taught us. But of this I shall need to say no more but the words of Tertullian; *Nobis nihil licet ex nostro arbitrio indulgere, sed nec eligere aliquid, quod de suo arbitrio aliquis induxerit: apostolos Domini habemus auctores, qui nec ipsi quicquam de suo arbitrio quod inducerent elegerunt, sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus assignarunt.** Whatsoever is not in and taken from, the Scriptures, is from a private spirit, and that is against Scripture certainly; 'for no Scripture is ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως,' saith St. Peter; it is not, it cannot be, 'of private interpretation;' that is, unless it come from the Spirit of God, which is that Spirit that moved on the waters of the new creation as well as of the old, and was promised to all, 'to you, and to your children, and to as many as the Lord our God shall call,' and is bestowed on all, and is the earnest of all our inheritance, and is 'given to every man to profit withal;'—it cannot prove God to be the author, nor be a light to us to walk by, or to show others the way to heaven.

This rule were alone sufficient to guide us all in the whole economy of our calling, if we were not weak and wilful, ignorant and abused: but the holy Scripture hath suffered so many interpretations, and various sounds and seemings, and we are so prepossessed and predetermined to misconstruction by false Apostles without and prevailing passions within, that though it be in itself sufficient, yet it is not so for us; and we may say with the eunuch, 'How can I understand, unless some man should guide me?' And, indeed, in St. Paul's epistles, 'there are many things hard to be understood;' and, in many other places, we find that the well is deep; and unless there be some to help us to draw out the latent senses of it, our souls will not be filled with the waters of salvation. Therefore, that I may do you what assistances I can, and, if I cannot, in this small

* Contrahæres.

portion of time, instruct you, yet that I may counsel you, and remind you of the best assistances that are to be had; if I cannot give you rules sufficient to expound all hard places, yet that I may show how you shall sufficiently teach your people, by the rare rules and precepts, recorded in places that are, or may be made, easy;—I shall first give you some advices in general, and then descend to more particular rules and measures.

1. Because it is not to be expected, that every minister of the Word of God should have all the gifts of the Spirit, and every one to abound in tongues, and in doctrines, and in interpretations; you may, therefore, make great use of the labors of those worthy persons, whom God hath made to be lights in the several generations of the world, that a hand may help a hand, and a father may teach a brother, and we all be taught of God: for there are many who have, by great skill and great experience, taught as many good rules for the interpretation of Scripture; amongst which those that I shall principally recommend to you, are the books of St. Austin, *De Utilitate Credendi*, and his 3d lib. *De Doctrina Christiana;* the Synopsis of Athanasius; the Proems of Isidore; the Prologues of St. Jerome. I might well add the Scholia of Œcumenius; the Catenæ of the Greek fathers; and of later times, the ordinary and interlineary glosses; the excellent book of Hugo de S. Victore, *De Eruditione Didascalica; Ars interpretandi Scripturas,* by Sixtus Senensis; Serarius's Prolegomena; Tena's Introduction to the Scriptures; together with Laurentius e Villa-Vincentio, Andreas Hyperius *De Ratione Studii Philosophici*, and the Hypotyposes of Martinus Cantapratensis. Arias Montanus's Joseph, or *De Arcano Sermone*, is of another nature, and more fit for preachers; and so is Sanctes Paguin's Isagoge; but Ambrosius Catharinus's book *Duarum Clavium ad Sacram Scripturam* is useful to many good purposes: but more particularly, and I think more usefully, are those seven rules of interpreting Scriptures, written by Tichonius, and first made famous by St. Austin's commendation of them, and inserted in tom. v. of the Biblioth. SS. PP.—Sebastian Perez wrote thirty-five rules for the interpretation of Scripture; Franciscus Ruiz drew from the ancient fa-

thers two hundred and thirty-four rules: besides those many learned persons who have written vocabularies, tropologies, and expositions of words and phrases; such as are Flacius Illyricus, Junius, Jerome Lauretus, and many others, not infrequent in all public libraries. But I remember, that he that gives advice to a sick man in Ireland to cure his sickness, must tell him of medicaments that are *facile parabilia*, "easy to be had," and cheap to be bought, or else his counsel will not profit him; and even of these God hath made good provision for us; for, although many precious things are reserved for them that dig deep and search wisely, yet there are medicinal plants, and corn and grass, things fit for food and physic, to be had in every field.

And so it is in the interpretation of Scripture: there are ways of doing it well and wisely, without the too laborious methods of weary learning, that even the meanest laborers in God's vineyard may have that which is fit to minister to him that needs. Therefore,

2. In all the interpretations of Scripture, the literal sense is to be presumed and chosen, unless there be evident cause to the contrary. The reasons are plain; because the literal sense is natural, and it is first, and it is most agreeable to some things, in their whole kind; not indeed to prophecies, nor to the teachings of the learned, nor those cryptic ways of institution by which the ancients did hide a light, and keep it in a dark lantern from the temeration of ruder handlings, and popular preachers: but the literal sense is agreeable to laws, to the publication of commands, to the revelation of the divine will, to the concerns of the vulgar, to the foundations of faith, and to all the notice of things, in which the idiot is as much concerned as the greatest clerks. From which proposition, these three corollaries will properly follow: 1. that God hath plainly and literally described all his will, both in belief and practice, in which our essential duty, the duty of all men, is concerned: 2. that in plain expressions we are to look for our duty, and not in the more secret places and darker corners of the Scripture: 3. that you may regularly, certainly, and easily do your duty to the people, if you read and literally expound the plain sayings, and easily expressed commandments, and promises,

and threatenings of the gospel, and the Psalms, and the prophets.

3. But then remember this also; that not only the grammatical or prime signification of the word is the literal sense; but whatsoever is the prime intention of the speaker, that is the literal sense; though the word be to be taken metaphorically, or by translation signify more things than one. 'The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous;' this is literally true; and yet it is as true, that God hath no eyes properly; but by 'eyes' are meant, God's Providence; and, though this be not the first literal sense of the word 'eyes,' it is not that which was at first imposed and contingently; but it is that signification which was secondarily imposed, and by reason and proportion. Thus, when we say, 'God cares for the righteous,' it will not suppose that God can have any anxiety or afflictive thoughts; but 'he cares' does as truly and properly signify provision, as caution; beneficence, as fear; and therefore the literal sense of it is, that 'God provides good things for the righteous.' For in this case the rule of Abulensis is very true; *sensus literalis semper est verus;* "the literal sense is always true;" that is, all that is true, which the Spirit of God intended to signify by the words, whether he intended the first or second signification; whether that of voluntary and contingent, or that of analogical and rational institution. 'Other sheep have I,' said Christ, 'which are not of this fold:' that he did not mean this of the *pecus lanigerum*, is notorious; but of the Gentiles to be gathered into the privileges and fold of Israel: for in many cases, the first literal sense is the hardest, and sometimes impossible, and sometimes inconvenient: and when it is any of these, although we are not to recede from the literal sense; yet we are to take the second signification, the tropological or figurative. 'If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out,' said Christ: and yet no man digs his eyes out; because the very letter or intention of this command bids us only to throw away that, which, if we keep, we cannot avoid sin: for sometimes the letter tells the intention, and sometimes the intention declares the letter; and that is properly the literal sense, which is the first meaning of the command in the whole complexion: and in this, common sense, and a vulgar reason, will be a sufficient guide,

because there is always some other thing spoken by God, or some principle naturally implanted in us, by which we are secured in the understanding of the divine command. 'He that does not hate father and mother for my sake is not worthy of me:' the literal sense of 'hating' used in Scripture is not always 'malice,' but sometimes a 'less loving;' and so Christ also hath expounded it: 'He that loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.'—But I shall not insist longer on this: he that understands nothing but his grammar, and hath not conversed with men and books, and can see no farther than his fingers' ends, and makes no use of his reason, but for ever will be a child; he may be deceived in the literal sense of Scripture; but then he is not fit to teach others: but he that knows words signify rhetorically as well as grammatically, and have various proper significations,* and which of these is the first is not always of itself easy to be told; and remembers also that God hath given him reason, and observation, and experience, and conversation with wise men, and the proportion of things, and the end of the command, and parallel places of Scripture in other words to the same purpose;—will conclude, that since, in plain places, all the duty of man is contained, and that the literal sense is always true, and, unless men be wilful or unfortunate, they may, with a small proportion of learning, find out the literal sense of an easy moral proposition;—will, I say, conclude, that if we be deceived, the fault is our own; but the fault is so great, the man so supine, the negligence so inexcusable, that the very consideration of human infirmity is not sufficient to excuse such teachers of others, who hallucinate or prevaricate in this. The Anthropomorphites fell foully in this matter, and supposed God to have a face, and arms, and passions, as we have; but they prevailed not: and Origen was, in one instance, greatly mistaken, and thinking there was no literal meaning but the prime signification of the word, understood the word εὐνουχίζειν, "to make an eunuch," to his own prejudice; but that passed not into a doctrine: but the church of Rome hath erred greatly in pertinacious adhering, not to the letter, but to the grammar; nor to that, but in one

* Verba non sono, sed sensu sapiunt.—Hilar.

line or signification of it: and *Hoc est corpus meum* must signify nothing but grammatically; and though it be not, by their own confessions, to be understood without divers figures in the whole complexion, yet, peevishly and perversely, they will take it by the wrong handle; and this they have passed into a doctrine, that is against sense, and reason, and experience, and Scripture, and tradition, and the common interpretation of things, and public peace and utility, and every thing by which mankind ought to be governed and determined.

4. I am to add this one thing more: that we admit in the interpretation of Scripture but one literal sense; I say, but one prime literal sense; for the simplicity and purity of the Spirit, and the philanthropy of God, will not admit that there should, in one single proposition, be many intricate meanings, or that his sense should not certainly be understood, or that the people be abused by equivocal and doubtful senses; this was the way of Jupiter in the sands, and Apollo Pythius, and the devil's oracles: but be it far from the wisdom of the Spirit of God.

5. But then take in this caution to it; that although there be but one principal literal sense, yet others, that are subordinate, may be intended subordinately; and others, that are true by proportion, or that first intention, may be true for many reasons, and every reason applicable to a special instance; and all these may be intended as they signify, that is, one only by prime design, and the other by collateral consequence. Thus, when it is said, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee;' the Psalmist means it of the eternal generation of Christ: others seem to apply it to his birth of the blessed Virgin Mary; and St. Paul expounds it of the resurrection of Christ.* This is all true; and yet but one literal sense primely meant: but by proportion to the first, the others have their place, and are meant by way of similitude. Thus we are the sons of God, by adoption, by creation, by favor, by participation of the Spirit, by the laver of regeneration; and every man, for one or other of these reasons, can say, 'Our Father, which art in heaven;' and these are all parts of the literal sense, not different, but subordinate and by participation: but more than one prime literal sense must not be admitted.

* Heb. i. 5.

6. Lastly, sometimes the literal sense is lost by a plain change of the words; which when it is discovered, it must be corrected by the fountain; and till it be, so long as it is pious, and commonly received, it may be used without scruple. In the 41st Psalm the Hebrews read, 'My soul hath longed after the strong, the living God;' *Deum fortem, vivum:* in the vulgar Latin it is, *Deum, fontem vivum,* 'the living fountain;' and it was very well, but not the literal sense of God's Spirit: but when they have been so often warned of it, that they were still in love with their own letter, and leave the words of the Spirit, I think was not justifiable at all: and this was observed at last by Sixtus and Clement, and corrected in their editions of the Bible, and then it came right again. The sum is this: he that, with this moderation and these measures, construes the plain meaning of the Spirit of God, and expounds the articles of faith, and the precepts of life, according to the intention of God, signified by his own words, in their first or second signification, cannot easily be cozened into any heretical doctrine; but his doctrine will be ἀδιάφθορος, the pure word and mind of God.

II. There is another sense or interpretation of Scripture, and that is mystical or spiritual; which the Jews call מדרש 'midrash;' which Elias the Levite calls *omne commentarium, quod non est juxta simplicem et literalem sensum;* "every gloss that is not according to their פשת 'peschat,' to the literal sense;" and this relates principally to the Old Testament: thus the waters of the deluge did signify the waters of baptism; Sarah and Agar, the law and the gospel; the brazen serpent, the passion of Christ; the conjunction of Adam and Eve, the communion of Christ and his church; and this is called the spiritual sense, St. Paul being our warrant; 'Our fathers ate of the same spiritual meat, and drank of that same spiritual rock:' now that rock was not spiritual, but of solid stone; but it signified spiritually: for 'that rock was Christ.' This sense the doctors divide into tropological, allegorical, and anagogical,—for method's sake, and either to distinguish the things, or to amuse the persons: for these relate but to the several spiritual things signified by divers places; as matters of faith, precepts of manners, and celestial joys: you may make more if you

please, and yet these are too many to trouble men's heads, and to make theology an art and craft, to no purpose. This spiritual sense is that which the Greeks call ὑπόνοιαν, or "the sense that lies under the cover of words:" concerning this I shall give you these short rules, that your doctrine be ἀδιάφθορος, pure and without heretical mixtures, and the leaven of false doctrines; for, above all things, this is to be taken care of.

1. Although every place of Scripture hath a literal sense, either proper or figurative, yet every one hath not a spiritual and mystical interpretation; and therefore Origen was blamed by the ancients for forming all into spirit and mystery: one place was reserved to punish that folly. Thus the followers of the family of love, and the quakers, expound all the articles of our faith, all the hopes of a Christian, all the stories of Christ, into such a clancular and retired sense, as if they had no meaning by the letter, but were only an hieroglyphic or a Pythagorean scheme, and not to be opened but by a private key, which every man pretends to be borrowed from the Spirit of God, though made in the forges here below: to which purposes the epistles of St. Jerome to Avitus, to Pammachius and Oceanus, are worth your reading. In this case men do as he said of Origen, *Ingenii sui acumina putant esse ecclesiæ sacramenta:* "every body believes God meant as he intended, and so he will obtrude his own dreams instead of sacraments." Therefore,

2. Whoever will draw spiritual senses from any history of the Old or New Testament, must first allow the literal sense, or else he will soon deny an article of necessary belief. A story is never the less true, because it is intended to profit as well as to please; and the narrative may well establish or insinuate a precept, and instruct with pleasure: but if, because there is a jewel in the golden cabinet, you will throw away the enclosure, and deny the story, that you may look out a mystical sense, we shall leave it arbitrary for any man to believe or disbelieve what story he please; and Eve shall not be made of the rib of Adam, and the garden of Eden shall be no more than the Hesperides, and the story of Jonas a well-dressed fable: and I have seen all the Revelation of St. John turned into a moral commentary, in which every person can signify

any proposition, or any virtue, according as his fancy chimes. This is too much, and, therefore, comes not from a good principle.

3. In moral precepts, in rules of polity and economy, there is no other sense to be inquired after but what they bear on the face; for he that thinks it necessary to turn them into some farther spiritual meaning, supposes that it is a disparagement to the Spirit of God to take care of governments, or that the duties of princes and ministers are no great concerns, or not operative to eternal felicity, or that God does not provide for temporal advantages; for if these things be worthy concerns, and if God hath taken care of all our good, and if 'godliness be profitable to all things, and hath the promise of the life that now is, and that which is to come,' there is no necessity to pass on to more abstruse senses, when the literal and proper hath also in it instrumentality enough towards very great spiritual purposes. 'God takes care' for servants, yea, 'for oxen,' and all the beasts of the field; and the letter of the command enjoining us to use them with mercy, hath in it an advantage even on the spirit and whole frame of a man's soul; and, therefore, let no man tear those Scriptures to other meanings beyond their own intentions and provisions. In these cases a spiritual sense is not to be inquired after.

4. If the letter of the story infers any indecency or contradiction, then it is necessary that a spiritual or mystical sense be thought of; but never else is it necessary. It may in other cases be useful, when it does advantage to holiness; and may be safely used, if used modestly: but because this spiritual or mystical interpretation, when it is not necessary, cannot be certainly proved, but relies on fancy, or at most some light inducement, no such interpretation can be used as an argument to prove an article of faith, nor relied on in matters of necessary concern. The 'three measures of meal,' in the gospel, are but an ill argument to prove the blessed and eternal Trinity: and it may be, the three angels that came to Abraham, will signify no more than the two that came to Lot, or the single one to Manoah or St. John. This divine mystery relies on a more sure foundation; and he makes it unsure, that causes it

to lean on an unexpounded vision, that was sent to other purposes. *Non esse contentiosis et infidelibus sensibus ingerendum*, said St. Austin of the book of Genesis. Searching for articles of faith in the by-paths and corners of secret places, leads not to faith but to infidelity; and, by making the foundations unsure, causes the articles to be questioned.

I remember that Agricola, in his book *De Animalibus Subterraneis*, tells of a certain kind of spirits that use to converse in mines, and trouble the poor laborers: they dig metals, they cleanse, they cast, they melt, they separate, they join the ore; but when they are gone, the men find just nothing done, not one step of their work set forward. So it is in the books and expositions of many men: they study, they argue, they expound, they confute, they reprove, they open secrets, and make new discoveries; and when you turn the bottom upwards, up starts nothing; no man is the wiser, no man is instructed, no truth discovered, no proposition cleared, nothing is altered, but that much labor and much time is lost: and this is manifest in nothing more than in books of controversy, and in mystical expositions of Scripture: *Quærunt quod nusquam est, inveniunt tamen.* Like Isidore, who, in contemplation of a pen, observed that the nib of it was divided into two, but yet the whole body remained one, *Credo propter mysterium:** he found a knack in it, and thought it was a mystery. Concerning which I shall need to say no more, but that they are safe when they are necessary, and they are useful when they teach better, and they are good when they do good; but this is so seldom, and so by chance, that oftentimes, if a man be taught truth, he is taught it by a lying master; it is like being cured by a good witch, an evil spirit hath a hand in it; and if there be not error and illusion in such interpretations, there is very seldom any certainty.

'What shall I do to my vineyard?' said God. *Auferam sepem ejus:* 'I will take away the hedge:'† that is, *custodiam angelorum*, saith the gloss, 'the custody of their angel guardians.' And God says, *Manasseh humeros suos comedit:* 'Manasseh hath devoured his own shoulders;'‡ that is, *guber-*

* Isid. Orig. lib. vi. c. 14. † Isaiah, v. 5. ‡ Isaiah, ix. 20.

natores dimovit, say the doctors, 'hath removed his governors,' his princes, and his priests. It is a sad complaint 'tis true, but what it means is the question. But although these senses are pious, and may be used for illustration and the prettiness of discourse, yet there is no further certainty in them than what the one fancies, and the other is pleased to allow. But if the spiritual sense be proved evident and certain, then it is of the same efficacy as the literal; for it is according to that letter by which God's Holy Spirit was pleased to signify his meaning; and it matters not how he is pleased to speak, so we understand his meaning. And, in this sense, that is true which is affirmed by St. Gregory: *Allegoriam interdum ædificare fidem:* "sometimes our faith is built up by the mystical words of the Spirit of God." But because it seldom happens that they can be proved, therefore you are not to feed your flocks with such herbs whose virtue you know not, of whose wholesomeness or powers of nourishing you are wholly, or for the most part, ignorant. We have seen and felt the mischief, and sometimes derided the absurdity. 'God created the sun and the moon,' said Moses; that is, said the extravagants of Pope Boniface VIII., "the pope and the emperor." And 'Behold here are two swords,' said St. Peter: 'It is enough,' said Christ; enough for St. Peter; and so he got the two swords, the temporal and spiritual, said the gloss on that text. Of these things there is no beginning and no end, no certain principles and no good conclusion.

These are the two ways of expounding all Scriptures; these are as "the two witnesses of God;" by the first of which he does most commonly, and by the latter of which he does sometimes declare his meaning: and in the discovery of these meanings, the measures which I have now given you are the general landmarks, and are sufficient to guide us from destructive errors. It follows, in the next place, that I give you some rules that are more particular, according to my undertaking, that you in your duty, and your charges in the provisions to be made for them, may be more secure.

1. Although you are to teach your people nothing but what is the word of God, yet by this word I understand all that God spake expressly, and all that by certain consequence can be

deduced from it. Thus Dionysius Alexandrinus argues, ἔγνων ὅτι υἱὸς καὶ λόγος οὐ ξένος ἂν εἴη τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός· "He that in Scripture is called the Son and the Word of the Father, I conclude he is no stranger to the essence of the Father." And St. Ambrose derided them that called for express Scripture for ὁμοούσιος, since the prophets and the gospels acknowlege the unity of substance in the Father and the Son; and we easily conclude the Holy Ghost to be God, because we call on him; and we call on him because we believe in him; and we believe in him because we are baptised into the faith and profession of the Holy Ghost. This way of teaching our blessed Saviour used, when he confuted the Sadducees, in the question of the resurrection; and thus he confuted the Pharisees, in the question of his being the Son of God.* The use I make of it is this; that right reason is so far from being an exile from the inquiries of religion, that it is the great ensurance of many propositions of faith; and we have seen the faith of men strangely alter, but the reason of man can never alter, every rational truth supposing its principles being eternal and unchangeable. All that is to be done here is to see that you argue well, that your deduction be evident, that your reason be right: for Scripture is to our understandings, as the grace of God to our wills; that instructs our reason, and this helps our wills; and we may as well choose the things of God without our wills, and delight in them without love, as understand the Scriptures or make use of them without reason.

Quest. But how shall our reason be guided that it may be right, that it be not a blind guide, but direct us to the place where the star appears, and point us to the very house where the babe lieth, that we may indeed do as the wise men did? To this I answer:

2. In the making deductions, the first great measure to direct our reason and our inquiries is the analogy of faith; that is, let the fundamentals of faith be your cynosura, your great light to walk by; and whatever you derive from thence, let it be agreeable to the principles from whence they come. It is the rule of St. Paul, Προφητεύων κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως, 'Let him that

* John, x. 37.

prophesies, do it according to the proportion of faith ;'* that is, let him teach nothing but what is revealed, or agreeable to the αὐτόπιστα, "the prime credibilities," of Christianity; that is, by the plain words of Scripture let him expound the less plain, and the superstructure by the measures of the foundation, and doctrines be answerable to faith, and speculations relating to practice, and nothing taught, as simply necessary to be believed, but what is evidently and plainly set down in the holy Scriptures; for he that calls a proposition necessary, which the Apostles did not declare to be so, or which they did not teach to all Christians, learned and unlearned, he is gone beyond his proportions; for every thing is to be kept in that order where God hath placed it. There is a *classis* of necessary articles, and that is the Apostles' creed, which Tertullian calls *regulam fidei*, "the rule of faith;" and according to this we must teach necessities: but what comes after this is not so necessary; and he that puts on his own doctrines a weight equal to this of the Apostles' declaration, either must have an apostolical authority, and an apostolical infallibility, or else he transgresses proportion of faith, and becomes a false Apostle.

3. To this purpose it is necessary that you be very diligent in reading, laborious and assiduous in the studies of Scripture; not only lest ye be blind seers and blind guides, but because, without great skill and learning, ye cannot do your duty. A minister may as well sin by his ignorance as by his negligence; because when light springs from so many angles that may enlighten us, unless we look round about us and be skilled in all the angles of reflexion, we shall but turn our backs on the sun, and see nothing but our own shadows. 'Search the Scriptures,' said Christ. *Non dixit legite, sed scrutamini*, said St. Chrysostom; *quia oportet profundius effodere, ut quæ alte delitescunt, invenire possimus.* "Christ did not say read, but search the Scriptures;" turn over every page, inquire narrowly, look diligently, converse with them perpetually, be mighty in the Scriptures; for that which is plain there is the best measure of our faith and of our doctrines. The Jews have a saying, *Qui non advertit quod supra et infra in scriptoribus legitur,*

* Rom. xii. 6.

is pervertit verba Dei viventis. He that will understand God's meaning, must look above and below, and round about; for the meaning of the Spirit of God is not like the wind blowing from one point, but, like light issuing from the body of the sun, it is light round about: and in every word of God there is a treasure, and something will be found somewhere, to answer every doubt, and to clear every obscurity, and to teach every truth by which God intends to perfect our understandings. But then take this rule with you: do not pass from plainness to obscurity, nor from simple principles draw crafty conclusions, nor from easiness pass into difficulty, nor from wise notices draw intricate nothings, nor from the wisdom of God lead your hearers into the follies of men. Your principles are easy, and your way plain, and the words of faith are open, and what naturally flows from thence will be as open; but if, without violence and distortion, it cannot be drawn forth, the proposition is not of the family of faith. *Qui nimis emungit, elicit sanguinem:* "he that wrings too hard, draws blood:" and nothing is fit to be offered to your charges and your flocks, but what flows naturally, and comes easily, and descends readily and willingly, from the fountains of salvation.

4. Next to this analogy or proportion of faith, let the consent of the Catholic church be your measure, so as by no means to prevaricate in any doctrine, in which all Christians always have consented. This will appear to be a necessary rule by and by; but in the mean time, I shall observe to you, that it will be the safer, because it cannot go far: it can be instanced but in three things, in the creed, in ecclesiastical government, and in external forms of worship and liturgy. The Catholic church hath been too much and too soon divided: it hath been used as the man on a hill used his heap of heads in a basket; when he threw them down the hill, every head ran his own way, *quot capita, tot sententiæ;* and as soon as the spirit of truth was opposed by the spirit of error, the spirit of peace was disordered by the spirit of division; and the Spirit of God hath overpowered us so far, that we are only fallen out about that, of which, if we had been ignorant, we had not been much the worse: but in things simply necessary, God hath preserved us still unbroken: all nations, and all ages recite the creed, and

all pray the Lord's prayer, and all pretend to walk by the rule of the commandments; and all churches have ever kept the day of Christ's resurrection, or the Lord's-day, holy; and all churches have been governed by bishops, and the rites of Christianity have been for ever administered by separate orders of men, and those men have been always set apart by prayer and the imposition of the bishop's hands; and all Christians have been baptised, and all baptised persons were, or ought to be, and are taught that they should be confirmed by the bishop, and presidents of religion; and for ever there were public forms of prayer, more or less in all churches; and all Christians that were to enter into holy wedlock, were ever joined or blessed by the bishop or the priest: in these things all Christians ever have consented; and he that shall prophesy or expound Scripture to the prejudice of any of these things, hath no part in that article of his creed: he does not believe the holy Catholic church, he hath no fellowship, no communion, with the saints and servants of God.

It is not here intended, that the doctrine of the church should be the rule of faith distinctly from, much less against, the Scripture; for that were a contradiction to suppose the church of God, and yet speaking and acting against the will of God; but it means, that where the question is concerning an obscure place of Scripture, the practice of the Catholic church is the best commentary. *Intellectus, qui cum praxi concurrit, est spiritus vivificans*, said Cusanus. Then we speak according to the Spirit of God, when we understand Scripture in that sense in which the church of God hath always practised it. *Quod pluribus, quod sapientibus, quod omnibus videtur*, that is Aristotle's rule, and it is a rule of nature; every thing puts on a degree of probability as it is witnessed "by wise men, by many wise men, by all wise men:" and it is Vincentius Lirinensis' great rule of truth; *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus:* and he that goes against "what is said always, and every where, and by all" Christians, had need have a new revelation, or an infallible spirit; or he hath an intolerable pride and foolishness of presumption. Out of the communion of the universal church no man can be saved; they are the body of Christ; and the whole church cannot perish, and Christ cannot

be a head without a body, and he will for ever be our Redeemer, and for ever intercede for his church, and be glorious in his saints; and, therefore, he that does not sow in these furrows, but leaves the way of the whole church, hath no pretence for his error, no excuse for his pride, and will find no alleviation of his punishment. These are the best measures which God hath given us to lead us in the way of truth, and to preserve us from false doctrines; and whatsoever cannot be proved by these measures, cannot be necessary. There are many truths besides these; but if your people may be safely ignorant of them, you may quietly let them alone, and not trouble their heads with what they have so little to do; things that need not to be known at all, need not to be taught: for if they be taught, they are not certain, or are not very useful; and, therefore, there may be danger in them besides the trouble; and since God hath not made them necessary, they may be let alone without danger; and it will be madness to tell stories to your flocks of things which may hinder salvation, but cannot do them profit. And now it is time that I have done with the first great remark of doctrine noted by the Apostle in my text: all the guides of souls must take care that the doctrine they teach be ἀδιάφθορος, 'pure and incorrupt,' the word of God, the truth of the Spirit. That which remains is easier.

In the next place, it must be σεμνὸς, 'grave,' and reverend; no vain notions, no pitiful contentions, and disputes about little things, but becoming your great employment in the ministry of souls: and in this the rules are easy and ready.

1. Do not trouble your people with controversies: whatsoever does gender strife, the Apostle commands us to avoid; and, therefore, much more the strife itself: a controversy is a stone in the mouth of the hearer, who should be fed with bread, and it is a temptation to the preacher, it is a state of temptation; it engages one side in lying, and both in uncertainty and uncharitableness; and after all, it is not food for souls; it is the food of contention, it is a spiritual lawsuit, and it can never be ended; every man is right, and every man is wrong in these things, and no man can tell who is right, or who is wrong. For as long as a word can be spoken against a word, and a thing be opposite to a thing; as long as places are hard, and

men are ignorant, or 'knowing but in part;' as long as there is money and pride in the world, and for ever till men willingly confess themselves to be fools and deceived, so long will the saw of contention be drawn from side to side. 'That which is not, cannot be numbered,' saith the wise man: no man can reckon on any truth that is got by contentious learning; and whoever troubles his people with questions, and teaches them to be troublesome, note that man, he loves not peace, or he would fain be called Rabbi, Rabbi. Christian religion loves not tricks nor artifices of wonder; but, like the natural and amiable simplicity of Jesus, by plain and easy propositions leads us in wise paths to a place, where sin and strife shall never enter. What good can come from that which fools begin, and wise men can never end but by silence? and that had been the best way at first, and would have stifled them in the cradle. What have your people to do whether Christ's body be in the sacrament by consubstantiation or transubstantiation; whether purgatory be in the centre of the earth, or in the air, or any where, or no where; and who but a madman would trouble their heads with the entangled links of the fantastic chain of predestination? Teach them to fear God and honor the king, to keep the commandments of God, and the king's commands, because of the oath of God; learn them to be sober and temperate, to be just and to pay their debts, to speak well of their neighbors and to think meanly of themselves; teach them charity, and learn them to be zealous of good works. Is it not a shame, that the people should be filled with sermons against ceremonies, and declamations against a surplice, and tedious harangues against the poor airy sign of the cross in baptism? These things teach them to be ignorant; it fills them with wind, and they suck dry nurses; it makes them lazy and useless, troublesome and good for nothing. Can the definition of a Christian be, that a Christian is a man that rails against bishops and the common prayer-book? and yet this is the great labor of our neighbors that are crept in among us: this they call the work of the Lord, and this is the great matter of the desired reformation; in these things they spend their long breath, and about these things they spend earnest prayers, and by these they judge their brother, and for these they revile their

superior, and in this doughty cause they think it fit to fight and die. If St. Paul or St. Anthony, St. Basil or St. Ambrose; if any of the primitive confessors, or glorious martyrs, should awake from within their curtains of darkness, and find men thus striving against government for the interest of disobedience, and laboring for nothings, and preaching all day for shadows and moonshine; and that not a word shall come from them to teach the people humility, not a word of obedience or self-denial; they are never taught to suspect their own judgment, but always to prefer the private minister before the public, the presbyter before a bishop, fancy before law, the subject before his prince, a prayer in which men consider not at all, before that which is weighed wisely and considered; and, in short, a private spirit before the public, and Mass John before the patriarch of Jerusalem; if, I say, St. Paul or St. Anthony should see such a light, they would not know the meaning of it, nor of what religion the country were, nor from whence they had derived their new nothing of an institution. 'The kingdom of God consists in wisdom and righteousness, in peace and holiness, in meekness and gentleness, in chastity and purity, in abstinence from evil and doing good to others;' in these things place your labors, preach these things, and nothing else but such as these; things which promote the public peace and public good; things that can give no offence to the wise and to the virtuous: for these things are profitable to men, and pleasing to God.

2. Let not your sermons and discourses to your people be busy arguings about hard places of Scripture: if you strike a hard against a hard, you may chance to strike fire, or break a man's head; but it never makes a good building: *Philosophiam ad syllabas vocare*, that is to no purpose: your sermons must be for edification, something to make the people better and wiser, 'wiser unto salvation,' not wiser to discourse; for, if a hard thing get into their heads, I know not what work you will make of it, but they will make nothing of it, or something that is very strange: dress your people unto the imagery of Christ, dress them for their funerals, help them to make their accounts up, against the day of judgment. I have known some persons and some families that would religiously educate their children, and

bring them up in the Scriptures from their cradle; and they would teach them to tell who was the first man, and who was the oldest, and who was the wisest, and who was the strongest; but I never observed them to ask who was the best, and what things were required to make a man good:* the Apostles' creed was not the entertainment of their pretty talkings, nor the life of Christ, the story of his bitter passion, and his incomparable sermon on the mount, went not into their catechisms. What good can your flocks receive, if you discourse well and wisely, whether Jepthah sacrificed his daughter, or put her into the retirements of a solitary life; or how David's numbering the people did differ from Joshua's; or whether God took away the life of Moses by an apoplexy, or by the kisses of his mouth? If scholars be idly busy in these things in the school, custom, and some other little accidents may help to excuse them; but the time that is spent in your churches, and conversation with your people, must not be so thrown away: λόγος ἔστω σεμνὸς, that is your rule; 'let your speech be grave,' and wise, and useful, and holy, and intelligible; something to reform their manners, to correct their evil natures, to amend their foolish customs; 'to build them up in a most holy faith.' That is the second rule and measure of your preachings that the Apostle gives you in my text.

Thirdly, your speech must be ὑγιὴς, 'salutary' and wholesome: and, indeed, this is of greatest concern, next to the first, next to the truth and purity of that doctrine; for unless the doctrine be made fit for the necessities of your people, and not only be good in itself, but good for them, you lose the end of your labors, and they the end of your preachings: 'Your preaching is vain, and their faith is also vain.' The particulars of this are not many, but very useful.

1. It is never out of season to preach good works; but when you do, be careful that you never indirectly disgrace them by telling how your adversaries spoil them. I do not speak this in vain; for too many of us account good works to be popery, and so not only dishonor our religion, and open wide the mouths of adversaries, but disparage Christianity itself, while

* Σχημάτων ἀτέχνων ποταμός.

we hear it preached in every pulpit, that they who preach good works think they merit heaven by it; and so for fear of merit, men let the work alone; to secure a true opinion, they neglect a good practice; and out of hatred of popery, we lay aside Christianity itself. Teach them how to do good works, and yet to walk humbly with God; for better it is to do well even on a weak account, than to do nothing on the stock of a better proposition: and let it never be used any more as a word of reproach unto us all, that the faith of a protestant, and the works of a papist, and the words of a fanatic, make up a good Christian. Believe well, and speak well, and do well; but in doing good works a man cannot deceive any one but himself, by the appendage of a foolish opinion; but in our believing only, and in talking, a man may deceive himself, and all the world; and God only can be safe from the cozenage. Like to this is the case of external forms of worship, which too many refuse, because they pretend that many who use them, rest in them, and pass no farther: for besides that no sect of men teaches their people so to do, you cannot without uncharitableness suppose it true of very many. But if others do ill, do not you do so too; and leave not out the external forms for fear of formality, but join the inward power of godliness; and then they are reproved best, and instructed wisely, and you are secured. But remember, that profaneness is commonly something that is external; and he is a profane person who neglects the exterior part of religion: and this is so vile a crime, that hypocrisy, while it is undiscovered, is not so much mischievous as open profaneness, or a neglect and contempt of external religion. Do not despise external religion, because it may be sincere; and do not rely on it wholly, because it may be counterfeit; but do you preach both, and practise both; both what may glorify God in public, and what may please him in private.

2. In deciding the questions and causes of conscience of your flocks, never strive to speak what is pleasing, but what is profitable, *οὐ λόγους, ἀλλὰ πραγμάτων φθέγγεσθαι οὐσίας*, as was said of Isidore, the philosopher, "You must not give your people words, but things and substantial food." Let not the people be prejudiced in the matter of their souls, on any terms whatsoever, and be not ashamed to speak boldly in the

cause of God; for he that is angry when he is reproved, is not to be considered, excepting only to be reproved again; if he will never mend, not you, but he will have the worst of it; but if he ever mends, he will thank you for your love, and for your wisdom, and for your care: and no man is finally disgraced for speaking of a truth; only here, pray for the grace of prudence, that you may speak opportunely and wisely, lest you profit not, but destroy an incapable subject.

Lastly: The Apostle requires of every minister of the gospel that his speech and doctrine should be ἀκατάγνωστος, 'unreprovable:' not such against which no man can cavil; for the Pharisees found fault with the wise discourses of the eternal Son of God; and heretics and schismatics prated against the holy Apostles and their excellent sermons; but ἀκατάγνωστος is 'such as deserves no blame,' and needs no pardon, and flatters not for praise, and begs no excuses, and makes no apologies; a discourse that will be justified by all the sons of wisdom: now, that yours may be so, the preceding rules are the best means that are imaginable. For, so long as you speak the pure truths of God, the plain meaning of the Spirit, the necessary things of faith, the useful things of charity, and the excellences of holiness, who can reprove your doctrine? But there is something more in this word, which the Apostle means, else it had been a useless repetition: and a man may speak the truths of God, and yet may be blame-worthy by an importune, unseasonable, and imprudent way of delivering them, or for want of such conduct which will place him and his doctrine in reputation and advantages. To this purpose these advices may be useful.

1. Be more careful to establish a truth, than to reprove an error. For besides that a truth will, when it is established, of itself reprove the error sufficiently; men will be less apt to reprove the truth, when they are not engaged to defend their own propositions against you. Men stand on their guard, when you proclaim war against their doctrine. Teach your doctrine purely and wisely, and without any angry reflections; for you shall very hardly persuade him, whom you go about publicly to confute.

2. If any man have a revelation or a discovery, of which

thou knowest nothing but by his preaching, be not too quick to condemn it; not only lest thou discourage his labor and stricter inquiries in the search of truth, but lest thou also be a fool on record; for so is every man that hastily judges what he slowly understands. Is it not a monument of a lasting reproach, that one of the popes of Rome condemned the bishop of Sulzbach, for saying that there were antipodes? And is not Pope Nicholas deserted by his own party, for correcting the sermons of Berengarius, and making him recant into a worse error? and posterity will certainly make themselves very merry with the wise sentences made lately at Rome, against Galileo, and the Jansenists. To condemn one truth is more shameful than to broach two errors: for he that, in an honest and diligent inquiry, misses something of the mark, will have the apologies of human infirmity, and the praise of doing his best; but he that condemns a truth, when it is told him, is an envious fool, and is a murderer of his brother's fame, and his brother's reason.

3. Let no man, on his own head, reprove the religion that is established by law, and a just supreme authority; for no reproofs are so severe as the reproofs of law; and a man will very hardly defend his opinion, that is already condemned by the wisdom of all his judges. A man's doctrine possibly may be true, though against law; but it cannot be ἀκατάγνωστος, 'unreprovable;' and a schismatic can, in no case, observe this rule of the Apostle. If something may be amiss when it is declared by laws, much easier may he be in an error, who goes on his own account, and declares alone: and, therefore, it is better to let things alone, than to be troublesome to our superiors by an impertinent wrangling for reformation. We find that some kings of Judah were greatly praised, and yet they did not destroy all the temples of the false gods, which Solomon had built: and if such public persons might let some things alone that were amiss, and yet be innocent, trouble not yourself that all the world is not amended according to your pattern: see that you be perfect at home, that all be rightly reformed there; as for reformation of the church, God will never call you to an account. Some things cannot be reformed,

and very many need not, for all thy peevish dreams; and after all, it is twenty to one but thou art mistaken, and thy superior is in the right; and if thou wert not proud, thou wouldst think so too. Certain it is, he that sows in the furrows of authority, his doctrine cannot so easily be reproved as he that ploughs and sows alone. When Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, fell into the hands of the Egyptian monks, who were ignorant and confident, they handled him with great rudeness, because he had spoken of the immateriality of the divine nature: the good man, to escape their fury, was forced to give them crafty and soft words, saying, *Vidi faciem vestram ut faciem Dei*, which, because they understood in the sense of the anthropomorphites, and thought he did so too, they let him depart in peace. When private persons are rude against the doctrines of authority, they are seldom in the right; but therefore are the more fierce, as wanting the natural supports of truth, which are reason and authority, gentleness and plain conviction; and, therefore, they fall to declamation and railing, zeal and cruelty, trifling and arrogant confidences. They seldom go asunder: it is the same word in Greek that signifies "disobedience" and "cruelty:" ἀπηνὴς is both; "He that will endure no bridle, that man hath no mercy." Αὐθάδεια, ἀπήνεια ὁμιλίας ἐν λόγοις. Confidence is that which will endure no bridle, no curb, no superior. It is worse in the Hebrew: 'The sons of Belial' signify 'people that will endure no yoke, no government, no imposition;' and we have found them so; they are sons of Belial indeed. This is that αὐθάδεια, that kind of boldness and refractory confidence, that St. Paul forbids to be in a minister of religion; μὴ αὐθάδη,* 'not confident;' that is, let him be humble and modest, distrusting his own judgment, believing wiser men than himself; never bold against authority, never relying on his own wit. Αὐθάδης ἐστὶν αὐτοάδης, said Aristotle; "that man is bold and presumptuous, who pleases himself," and sings his own songs, all voluntary, nothing by his book.

> Οὐδ' ἀστὸν ᾔνεσ', ὅστις αὐθάδης γεγὼς,
> Πικρὸς πολίταις ἐστὶν ἀμαθίας ὕπο, said the tragedy.†

* Tit. i. 7. † Eurip. Med. Porson, 225.

Every confident man is ignorant, and, by his ignorance, troublesome to his country; but will never do it honor.

4. Whatever Scriptures you pretend for your doctrine, take heed that it be not chargeable with foul consequences; that it lay no burden on God, that it do not tempt to vanity, that it be not manifestly serving a temporal end, and nothing else; that it be not vehemently to be suspected to be a design of state, like the sermon at Paul's Cross, by Dr. Shaw, in Richard the Third's time; that it do not give countenance and confidence to a wicked life; for then your doctrine is reprovable for the appendage, and the intrinsic truth or falsehood will not so much be inquired after, as the visible and external objection: if men can reprove it in the outside, they will inquire no farther. But, above all things, nothing so much will reproach your doctrine, as if you preach it in a railing dialect; we have had too much of that within these last thirty years. Optatus observes it was the trick of the Donatists, *Nullus vestrum est, qui non convicia nostra suis tractatibus misceat:* "There is none of you but with his own writings mingles our reproaches:"* you begin to read chapters, and you expound them to our injuries; you comment on the gospel, and revile your brethren that are absent; you imprint hatred and enmity in your people's hearts, and you teach them war when you pretend to make them saints. They that do so, their doctrine is not ἀκατάγνωστος: that is the least which can be said. If you will not have your doctrine reprehensible, *do nothing with offence;* and, above all offences, avoid the doing or saying those things that give offence to the king and to the laws, to the voice of Christendom, and the public customs of the church of God. Frame your life and preachings to the canons of the church, to the doctrines of antiquity, to the sense of the ancient and holy fathers. For it is otherwise in theology, than it is in other learnings. The experiments of philosophy are rude at first, and the observations weak, and the principles unproved; and he that made the first lock, was not so good a workman as we have nowadays: but in Christian religion, they that

* Lib. iv. adv. Parmen.

were first were best, because God, and not man, was the teacher; and ever since that, we have been unlearning the wise notices of pure religion, and mingling them with human notices and human interest. *Quod primum, hoc verum:* and although concerning antiquity, I may say, as he in the tragedy,*

Ξυσσωφρονεῖν σοι βούλομ', ἀλλ' οὐ συννοσεῖν,

I would have you be wise with them, and under them, and follow their faith, but not their errors; yet this can never be of use to us, till antiquity be convicted of an error, by an authority great as her own, or a reason greater, and declared by an authorised master of sentences. But, however, be very tender in reproving a doctrine for which good men and holy have suffered martyrdom, and of which they have made public confession; for nothing reproves a doctrine so much as to venture it abroad with so much scandal and objection: and what reason can any schismatic have against the common prayer-book, able to weigh against that argument of blood, which for the testimony of it was shed by the Queen Mary martyrs? I instance the advice in this particular, but it is true in all things else of the like nature. It was no ill advice, whoever gave it, to the favorite of a prince; "Never make yourself a professed enemy to the church; for their interest is so complicated with the public, and their calling is so dear to God, that one way or other, one time or other, God and man will be their defender." The same I say concerning authority and antiquity; never do any thing, never say or profess any thing, against it: for besides that if you follow their measures, you will be secured in your faith, and in your main duty; even in smaller things, they will be sure to carry the cause against you, and no man is able to bear the reproach of singularity. It was in honor spoken of St. Malachias, my predecessor in the see of Down, in his life written by St. Bernard, *Apostolicas sanctiones et decreta SS. PP. in cunctis ecclesiis statuebat.* I hope to do something of this for your help and service, if God gives me life, and health, and opportunity; but for the present, I

* Iph. Aul. 407. vol. iv. Priestley's ed.

have done. These rules if you observe, your doctrine will be ἀκατάγνωστος, 'it will need no pardon;' and ἀνέγκλητος, 'never to be reproved in judgment.' I conclude all with the wise saying of Bensirach: 'Extol not thyself in the counsel of thine own heart, that thy soul be not torn in pieces as a bull straying alone.'*

* Ecclus. vi. 2.

A

SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

FUNERAL OF THAT WORTHY KNIGHT

SIR GEORGE DALSTON,

OF DALSTON IN CUMBERLAND,

Sept. 28, 1657.

SUMMARY OF
A FUNERAL SERMON,

&c. &c.

1 CORINTHIANS, CHAP. XV.—VERSE 19.

WHEN God, in his infinite wisdom, had decreed to man a life of labor and a body of mortality, &c., he was pleased to do two great things which might confirm the faith and entertain the hopes of his servants, who were ill used by the accidents of this world.

1. First, he sent his Son to take on him our nature, that no man might think it hard to suffer, when God thus spared not his own Son, &c.

2. Next, he taught, not only by revelation and his prophets to the church, but by competent methods to all mankind, that the soul of man does not die. Right deductions of the ancient philosophers and others on this point related and commented on. When they descended to particulars, they fell into error: instance of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls: this notion prevailed amongst the uninstructed of the Jews. Though God was pleased at all times to communicate notices of the other world sufficient to encourage virtue, yet he was ever sparing in telling the secrets of it: subject enlarged on. In this life, then, we see plainly that our portion is not, &c. Three propositions to be considered,

1. The servants of God in this world would be very miserable, were it not for their hopes of what is to come hereafter.

2. Though this be a place of hopes, yet we have not our hopes only here, &c.

3. The consummation and perfection of the felicity of the godly, when all their miseries shall be changed into glories, is in the world to come; which is the main thing here intended by St. Paul.

I. The servants of God in this life are troubled and afflicted: they must live under the cross. This shown in extraordinary sufferings, also in the ordinary occurrences of life.

Hence it was, that the very heathens fetched a strong argument for a day of recompense hereafter: hence, also, our Lord convicted the Sadducees. Hence St. Paul observes, *he that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* Hence, also, the argument of our blessed Saviour, *God is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob:* that is, the rewarder of them, who are not dead, but fallen asleep, and shall be restored at the resurrection, to receive their rewards, &c.: this topic enlarged on. Neither is this so to be understood, as if the servants of God were so wholly forsaken by him in this world, so left to the malice of evil men, that they have not many refreshments, and great comforts, &c. But God, who intends vast portions of felicity for his children, does not reckon these little joys to the account of his elect. But as for the evil which they have, it is such as their Saviour had; and, bad as it is, it is to be chosen rather than a better; because it is the highway of the cross; a sharp, but a short step to bliss: parable of Dives and Lazarus commented on.

II. Second head. *Not in this life only* have the godly hopes; therefore hereafter. As soon as they die, as soon as the soul goes out of the body, it is blessed: blessed, though not perfect: an objection here removed. The proposition itself taken up: in the state of separation, departed souls perceive

the blessing and comfort of their labors; they live after death, &c.

This was the undoubted opinion of the Jews before Christ, and after; and therefore our Saviour's words to the converted thief, wherein he undoubtedly spake so as to be understood: this topic farther enlarged on. But this we learn more perfectly from the raptures of St. Paul: instances also from the book of Revelation given and commented on. But to make this proposition useful and clear, some things are to be added by way of supplement.

1. Reasons given why this place of separation was called paradise, &c.

2. As the spirits of good men were said in the Old Testament *to be with Abraham*, so *the being with Christ* is the specification of their intermediate state in the New Testament: this enlarged on.

3. It is to be noted, that although our blessed Saviour is, in the Creed, said to descend into hell, yet this does not prejudice his other words, *this day thou shalt be with me in paradise:* this explained.

4. It is observable, that in the mention of paradise by St. John, he twice speaks of *the tree of life*, but never of *the tree of knowlege of good and evil:* this explained, &c.

III. Third head. The great reward of the godly shall be at the day of judgment, after the resurrection of the dead.

At his coming, at his glorious appearing, we also shall appear glorious: this shown from 1 John, ii. 28. and iii. 4. *We shall then see him as he is;* but this beatific vision shall not be till then: this topic enlarged on, proved, and illustrated from Scripture.

This doctrine shown to have been that of the primitive church. It is that of the Greek church unto this day, &c.

This doctrine shown to overthrow the arguments for a state of purgatory.

The proposition being established, let us consider that God is our God when we die, if we be his servants while we live: this topic enlarged on. Some men, by reading or hearing strange opinions, have fallen into a desperate melancholy; and others have so totally despaired of the divine mercy, as to lay violent hands on themselves: and yet they only thought this or feared it; and might have altered it if they would have hoped and prayed: reflections on this subject.

Now it is well with us, and we may secure our welfare for ever; but within an hour it may be otherwise with any of us: reflections on this topic. The exposition of the text is finished; but another text, and another sermon, as it were, still remains. Exhortations to caution and amendment of life, and the securing of God's favor. Example of Sir George Dalston proposed: his character delineated. Conclusion.

A

FUNERAL SERMON,

&c. &c.

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1 CORINTHIANS, CHAP. XV.—VERSE 19.

If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are, of all men, most miserable.

WHEN God, in his infinite and eternal wisdom, had decreed to give to man a life of labor, and a body of mortality; a state of contingency, and a composition of fighting elements; and having designed to be glorified by a free obedience, would also permit sin in the world, and suffer evil men to go on in their wickedness, to prevail in their impious machinations, to vex the souls, and grieve the bodies of the righteous; he knew that this would not only be very hard to be suffered by his servants, but also be very difficult to be understood by them who know God to be a 'Lawgiver' as well as a 'Lord;' a 'Judge' as well as a 'King;' a 'Father' as well as a 'Ruler;' and that, in order to his own glory, and for the manifestation of his goodness, he had promised to reward his servants, to give good to them that did good: therefore, to take off all prejudices, and evil resentments, and temptations, which might trouble those good men who suffered evil things,—he was pleased to do two great things, which might confirm the faith, and endear the services, and entertain the hopes of them who are indeed his servants, but yet were very ill used in the accidents of this world.

1. The one was, that he sent his Son into the world to take on him our nature; and him, being the 'Captain of our salva-

tion, he would perfect through sufferings;' that no man might think it much to suffer, when God spared not his own Son; and every man might submit to the necessity, when the Christ of God was not exempt; and yet that no man should fear the event which was to follow such sad beginnings, when 'it behoved even Christ to suffer, and so to enter into glory.'

2. The other great thing was, that God did not only by revelation, and the sermons of the prophets to his church, but even to all mankind, competently teach, and effectively persuade, that the soul of man does not die; but that although things were ill here, yet they should be well hereafter; that the evils of this life were short and tolerable, and that to the good, who usually feel most of them, they should end in honor and advantages. And, therefore, Cicero had reason on his side to conclude, that there is to be a time and place after this life, wherein the wicked shall be punished, and the virtuous well rewarded, when he considered that Orpheus and Socrates, Palamedes and Thraseas, Lucretia and Papinian, were either slain or oppressed to death by evil men. But to us Christians, εἰ μὴ ἐπαχθές ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, πάνυ ἱκανῶς ἀποδεδεῖχθαι, as Plato's * expression is; we have a necessity to declare, and a demonstration to prove it: when we read that Abel died by the hands of Cain, who was so ignorant, that though he had malice and strength, yet he had scarce art enough to kill him; when we read that John the Baptist, Christ himself, and his Apostles, and his whole army of martyrs, died under the violence of evil men; when virtue made good men poor, and free speaking of brave truths made the wise to lose their liberty; when an excellent life hastened an opprobrious death, and the obeying God destroyed ourselves; it was but time to look about for another state of things, where justice should rule, and virtue find her own portion; where the men that were like to God in mercy and justice should also partake of his felicity: and, therefore, men cast out every line, and turned every stone, and tried every argument, and sometimes proved it well; and when they did not, yet they believed strongly; and they were sure of the thing, even when they were not sure of the argument.

* Phæd. c. 37. Fischer, p. 368.

Thus, therefore, would the old priests of the capitol, and the ministers of Apollo, and the mystic persons at their oracles believe, when they made apotheoses of virtuous and braver persons, ascribing every braver man into the number of their gods: Hercules and Romulus, Castor and Pollux, Liber Pater,* him that taught the use of vines, and her that taught them the use of corn. For they knew that it must needs be, that they who like to God do excellent things, must like to God have an excellent portion.

This learning they also had from Pherecydes the Syrian, from Pythagoras of Samos, and from Zamolxis the Gete, from the neighbors of Euphrates, and the inhabitants by Ister, who were called *ἀθανατίζοντες*, "Immortalists;" because, in the midst of all their dark notices of things, they saw this clearly, *ὅτι ἀγαθὰ ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἀποθανοῦνται, ἀλλὰ ἥξουσι ἐς χῶρον τοῦτον, ἵνα ἔχωσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθά*: "that virtuous and good men do not die, but their souls do go into blessed regions, where they shall enjoy all good things;" and it was never known that ever any good man was of another opinion. Hercules and Themistocles, Epaminondas and Cicero, Socrates and Cimon, Ennius and Phidias, all the flower of mankind have preached this truth. *Κυριότερα τὰ τῶν θείων ἀνδρῶν μαντεύματα, ἢ τὰ τῶν μή· οἱ δὲ ἐπιεικέστατοι πάντα ποιοῦσιν, ὅπως ἂν ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον εὖ ἀκούωσιν*: "the discoursings and prophesyings of divine men are much more proper and excellent than of others, because they do equal and good things, until the time comes that they shall hear well for them:" *τεκμήριον δὲ ποιοῦμαι, ὅτι ἐστί τις αἴσθησις τεθνεῶσι τῶν ἐνθάδε· αἱ δὲ βέλτισται ψυχαὶ μαντεύονται ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν· αἱ δὲ μοχθηρόταται οὐ φασίν·* "and this is the sign, that when we die we have life and discerning; because though the wicked care not for believing it, yet all the prophets and the poets, the wise and the brave heroes say so;" they are the words of Plato. For though that which is compounded of elements, returns to its material and corruptible principles, yet the soul, which is a particle of the divine breath, returns to its own divine original, where there is no death or dissolution: and because the understanding is neither hot nor

* Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 5.

cold, it hath no moisture in it, and no dryness, it follows that it hath nothing of those substances, concerning which alone we know that they are corruptible. There is nothing corruptible that we know of, but the four elements, and their sons and daughters: nothing dies that can discourse, that can reflect in perfect circles on their own imperfect actions; nothing can die that can see God, and converse with spirits, that can govern by laws and wise propositions. For fire and water can be tyrannical, but not govern; they can bear every thing down that stands before them, and rush like the people; but not rule like judges, and therefore they perish as tumults are dissolved. *Λείπεται δὲ τὸν νοῦν μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι, καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ κοινωνεῖ σωματικὴ ἐνέργεια,* says Aristotle:* "But the soul only comes from abroad, from a divine principle (for so saith the Scripture,—'God breathed into Adam the spirit of life'): and that which in operation does not communicate with the body," shall have no part in its corruption.

Thus far they were right; but when they descended to particulars, they fell into error. That the rewards of virtue were to be hereafter, that they were sure of; that the soul was to survive the calamities of this world, and the death of the body, that they were sure of; and on this account they did bravely and virtuously: and yet they that thought best amongst them, believed that the souls departed should be re-invested with other bodies, according to the dispositions and capacities of this life.

Thus Orpheus, who sang well, should transmigrate into a swan; and the soul of Thamyris, who had as good a voice as he, should wander till it were confined to the body of a nightingale; Ajax to a lion, Agamemnon to an eagle, tyrant princes into wolves and hawks, the lascivious into asses and goats, the drunkards into swine, the crafty statesmen into bees and pismires, and Thersites to an ape. This fancy of theirs prevailed much amongst the common people, and the uninstructed amongst the Jews; for when Christ appeared so glorious in miracle, Herod presently fancied him to be the soul of John

* De Gen. An. lib. 2.

the Baptist in another body; and the common people said he was Elias, or Jeremias, or one of the old prophets. And true it is, that although God was pleased, in all times, to communicate to mankind notices of the other world, sufficient to encourage virtues, and to contest against the rencounters of the world, yet he was ever sparing in telling the secrets of it; and when St. Paul had his rapture into heaven, he saw fine things, and heard strange words, but they were ἄῤῥητα ῥήματα, 'words that he could not speak,' and secrets that he could not understand, and secrets that he could not communicate. For as a man staring on the broad eye of the sun at his noon of solstice, feels his heat, and dwells in light, and loses the sight of his eyes, and perceives nothing distinctly; but the organ is confounded, and the faculty amazed with too big a beauty;—so was St. Paul in his ecstasy; he saw that he could see nothing to be told below, and he perceived the glories were too big for flesh and blood, and that the beauties of separate souls were not to be understood by the soul in conjunction; and, therefore, after all the fine things that he saw, we only know what we knew before, namely, that the soul can live when the body is dead; that it can subsist without the body; that there are very great glories reserved for them that serve God; that they who die in Christ, shall live with him; that the body is a prison, and the soul is in fetters, while we are alive; and that when the body dies, the soul springs and leaps from her prison, and enters into the first liberty of the sons of God. Now much of this did rely on the same argument, on which the wise Gentiles of old concluded the immortality of the soul; even because we are here very miserable and very poor: we are sick, and we are afflicted; we do well, and we are disgraced; we speak well, and we are derided; we tell truths, and few believe us; but the proud are exalted, and the wicked are delivered, and evil men reign over us, and the covetous snatch our little bundles of money from us, and the *fiscus* gathers our rents, and every where the wisest and the best men are oppressed; but, therefore, because it is thus, and thus it is not well, we hope for some great good thing hereafter. 'For if in this life only we had hope,'—then we Christians, all we to whom persecution is allotted for our portion, we who must

be patient under the cross, and receive injuries, and say nothing but prayers,—'we certainly were of all men the most miserable.'

Well then: in this life we see plainly that our portion is not; here we have hopes; but not here only, we shall go into another place, where we shall have more hopes: our faith shall have more evidence, it shall be of things seen afar off; and our hopes shall be of more certainty and perspicuity, and next to possession; we shall have very much good, and be very sure of much more. Here then are three propositions to be considered.

1. The servants of God in this world are very miserable, were it not for their hopes of what is to come hereafter.

2. Though this be a place of hopes, yet we have not our hopes only here. 'If in this life only we had hopes,' saith the Apostle; meaning, that in another life also we have hopes, not only metonymically, taking hopes for the thing we hope for; but properly, and for the acts, objects, and causes of hope. In this state of separation the godly shall have the vast joys of a certain intuitive hope, according to their several proportions and capacities.

3. The consummation and perfection of their felicity, when all their miseries shall be changed into glories, is in the world to come, after the resurrection of the dead; which is the main thing which St. Paul here intends.

I. The servants of God in this life are calamitous and afflicted; they must live under the cross. 'He that will be my disciple, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me,' said our glorious Lord and Master. And we see this prophetic precept (for it is both a prophecy and a commandment, and, therefore, shall be obeyed whether we will or no), but I say, we see it verified by the experience of every day: for here the violent oppress the meek; and they that are charitable shall receive injuries. The Apostles who preached Christ crucified, were themselves persecuted, and put to violent deaths; and Christianity itself, for three hundred years, was the public hatred; and yet then it was that men loved God best, and suffered more for him; then they did most good, and least evil. In this world, men thrive by villany; and lying and deceiving

are accounted just; and to be rich is to be wise; and tyranny is honorable; and though little thefts, and petty mischiefs, are interrupted by the laws; yet if a mischief become public and great, acted by princes, and effected by armies, and robberies be done by whole fleets, it is virtue, and it is glory; it fills the mouths of fools that wonder, and employs the pens of witty men, that eat the bread of flattery. How many thousand bottles of tears, and how many millions of sighs, does God every day record, while the oppressed and the poor pray unto him, worship him, speak great things of his holy name, study to please him, beg for helps that they may become gracious in his eyes, and are so, and yet never sing in all their life, but when they sing God's praises out of duty, with a sad heart and a hopeful spirit, living only on the future, weary of to-day, and sustained only by the hope of to-morrow's event? and after all, their eyes are dim with weeping and looking on distances, as knowing they shall never be happy till the 'new heavens and the new earth' appear.

But I need not instance in the *miserabili*, in them that dwell in dungeons, and lay their head in places of trouble and disease: take those servants of God who have greatest plenty, who are encircled with blessings, whom this world calls prosperous, and see if they have not fightings within and crosses without, contradiction of accidents, and perpetuity of temptations, the devil assaulting them, and their own weakness betraying them: fears encompassing them round about, lest they lose the favor of God; and shame sitting heavily on them, when they remember how often they talk foolishly, and lose their duty, and dishonor their greatest relations, and walk unworthy of those glories which they would fain obtain; and all this is besides the unavoidable accidents of mortality, sickly bodies, troublesome times, changes of government, loss of interests, unquiet and peevish accidents round about them: so that when they consider to what they are primarily obliged; that they must in some instances deny their appetite, in others they must quit their relations, in all they must deny themselves, when their natural or secular danger tempts to sin or danger; and that for the support of their wills, and the strengthening their resolutions, against the arguments and solicitation of passions, they

have nothing but the promises of another world; they will easily see that all the splendor of their condition, which fools admire, and wise men use temperately, and handle with caution, as they try the edge of a razor, is so far from making them recompense for the sufferings of this world, that the reserves and expectations of the next is, that conjugation of aids, by which only they can well and wisely bear the calamities of their present plenty.

But if we look round about us, and see how many righteous causes are oppressed, how many good men are reproached, how religion is persecuted, on what strange principles the greatest princes of the world transact their greatest affairs, how easily they make wars, and how suddenly they break leagues; and at what expense, and vast pensions, they corrupt each other's officers; and how the greatest part of mankind watches to devour one another: and they that are devoured are commonly the best, the poor and the harmless, the gentle and uncrafty, the simple and religious; and then how many ways all good men are exposed to danger; and that our scene of duty lies as much in passive graces as in active;—it must be confessed that this is a place of wasps and insects, of vipers and dragons, of tigers and bears; but the sheep are eaten by men, or devoured by wolves and foxes, or die of the rot; and when they do not, yet every year they redeem their lives by giving their fleece and their milk, and must die, when their death will pay the charges of the knife.

Now, from this, I say, it was that the very heathen, Plutarch and Cicero, Pythagoras and Hierocles, Plato and many others, did argue and conclude, that there must be a day of recompenses to come hereafter, which would set all right again: and from hence also our blessed Saviour himself did convince the Sadducees in their fond and pertinacious denying of the resurrection: for that is the meaning of that argument, which our blessed Lord did choose, as being clearly and infallibly the aptest of any in the Old Testament, to prove the resurrection; and though the deduction is not at first so plain and evident, yet, on nearer intuition, the interpretation is easy, and the argument excellent and proper.

For it is observed by the learned among the Jews, that when

God is, by way of particular relation and especial benediction, appropriated to any one, it is intended that God is to him 'a rewarder and benefactor,' Θεὸς εὐεργέτης, Θεὸς μισθαποδότης: for that is the first thing and the last, that every man believes and feels of God; and, therefore, St. Paul sums up the Gentiles' creed in this compendium: 'He that cometh to God, must believe that God is; and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.'* And as it is in the indefinite expression, so it is in the limited; as it is in the absolute, so also in the relative. God is the rewarder; and to be their God, is to be their rewarder, to be their benefactor, and their gracious Lord. *Ego ero Deus vester,*—'I will be your God;' that is, 'I will do you good,' says Aben Esra: and Philo, τὸ δὲ Θεὸς αἰώνιος ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ, ὁ χαριζόμενος, οὐ τότε μὲν, τότε δὲ οὐ, ἀεὶ δὲ, καὶ συνεχῶς: "the everlasting God, that is, as if he had said, one that will do you good: not sometimes some, and sometimes none at all; but frequently, and for ever:" and this we find also observed by St. Paul: 'Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God;'† and that by which the relative appellative is verified, is the consequent benefit: he is 'called their God; for he hath provided for them a city.'

On this account, the argument of our blessed Saviour is this: 'God is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;' that is, the gracious God, the benefactor, the rewarder; and, therefore, Abraham is not dead, but is fallen asleep, and he shall be restored in the resurrection to receive those blessings and rewards, by the title of which God was called the 'God of Abraham.' For in this world Abraham had not that harvest of blessings, which is consigned by that glorious appellative; he was an exile from his country; he stood far off from the possession of his hopes; he lived in ambulatory life; he spent most of his days without an heir; he had a constant piety; and, at the latter end of his life, one great blessing was given him; and because that was allayed by the anger of his wife, and the expulsion of his handmaid, and the ejection of Ishmael, and the danger of the lad; and his great calamity about the matter of Isaac's sacrifice; and all his faith, and patience, and piety, was rewarded

* Heb. xi. 6. † Heb. xi. 16.

with nothing but promises of things a great way off; and before the possession of them, he went out of this world;—it is undeniably certain that God, who, after the departure of the patriarchs, did still love to be called 'their God,' did intend to signify that they should be restored to a state of life, and a capacity of those greatest blessings, which were the foundation of that title and that relation. 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living;' but God is the God of Abraham, and the other patriarchs; therefore they are not dead; dead to this world, but alive to God; that is, though this life be lost, yet they shall have another and a better; a life in which God shall manifest himself to be their God, to all the purposes of benefit and eternal blessings.

This argument was summed up by St. Peter, and the sense of it is thus rendered by St. Clement, the bishop of Rome, as himself testifies: *Si Deus est justus, animus est immortalis;* which is perfectly rendered by the words of my text: 'If in this life only we have hope, then are we of all men the most miserable;' because this cannot be, that God, who is just and good, should suffer them that heartily serve him to be really and finally miserable; and yet in this world they are so, very frequently; therefore, in another world, they shall live to receive a full recompense of reward.

Neither is this so to be understood, as if the servants of God were so wholly forsaken of him in this world, and so permitted to the malice of evil men, or the asperities of fortune, that they have not many refreshments, and great comforts, and the perpetual festivities of a holy conscience; for, 'God my Maker is he that giveth songs in the night,' said Elihu;* that is, God, as a reward, giveth a cheerful spirit, and makes a man to sing with joy, when other men are sad with the solemn darkness, and with the affrights of conscience, and with the illusions of the night. But God, who intends vast portions of felicity to his children, does not reckon these little joys into the account of the portion of his elect. The good things which they have in this world, are not little, if we account the joys of religion, and the peace of conscience, amongst things valuable; yet whatso-

* Job, xxxv. 10.

ever it is, all of it, all the blessings of themselves, and of their posterity, and of their relatives, for their sakes, are cast in for intermedial entertainments; but 'their good,' and their prepared portion, shall be hereafter. But for the evil itself, which they must suffer and overcome, it is such a portion of this life, as our blessed Saviour had; injuries and temptations, care and persecutions, poverty and labor, humility and patience: it is well; it is very well; and who can long for, or expect better here, when his Lord and Saviour had a state of things so very much worse than the worst of our calamities? but bad as it is, it is to be chosen rather than a better; because it is the highway of the cross; it is Jacob's ladder, on which the saints and the King of Saints did descend, and at last ascend to heaven itself; and bad as it is, it is the method and inlet to the best; it is a sharp, but it is a short step to bliss: for it is remarkable, in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, that the poor man, the afflicted saint, died first, Dives being permitted to his purple and fine linen, to his delicious fare, and (which he most of all needed) to a space of repentance: but, in the mean time, the poor man was rescued from his sad portion of this life, and carried into Abraham's bosom; where he who was denied, in this world, to be feasted even with the portion of dogs, was placed in the bosom of the patriarch, that is, in the highest room; for so it was in their *discubitus*, or lying down to meat, the chief guest, the most beloved person, did lean on the bosom of the master of the feast; so St. John did lean on the breast of Jesus, and so did Lazarus on the breast of Abraham: or else κόλπος Ἀβραάμ, *sinus Abrahami*, may be rendered 'the bay of Abraham,' alluding to the place of rest where ships put in after a tempestuous and dangerous navigation: the storm was quickly over with the poor man, and the angel of God brought the good man's soul to a safe port, where he should be disturbed no more: and so saith the Spirit, 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their labors.'

But this brings me to the second great inquiry; if here we live on hopes, and that this is a place of hopes, but not this only; what other place is there, where we shall be blessed in our hope, where we shall rest from our labor and our fear, and

have our hopes in perfection,—that is, all the pleasures which can come from the greatest and the most excellent hope?

'Not in this life only:'—so my text. Therefore hereafter; as soon as we die; as soon as ever the soul goes from the body, it is blessed. Blessed, I say, but not perfect; it rejoices in peace and a holy hope: here we have hopes mingled with fear, there our hope is heightened with joy and confidence; it is all the comfort that can be, in the expectation of unmeasurable joys: it is only, not fruition, not the joys of a perfect possession: but less than that, it is every good thing else.

But that I may make my way plain, I must first remove an objection, which seems to overthrow this whole affair. St. Paul intends these words of my text as an argument to prove the resurrection; we shall rise again with our bodies; for 'if in this life only we had hope, then we were of all men most miserable;' meaning, that unless there be a resurrection, there is no good for us any where else; but if 'they who die in the Lord' were happy before the resurrection, then we were not of all men most miserable, though there were to be no resurrection; for the godly are presently happy. So that one must fail; either the resurrection, or the intermedial happiness; the proof of one relies on the destruction of the other; and because we can no other ways be happy, therefore there shall be a resurrection.

To this I answer, that if the godly, instantly on their dissolution, had the vision beatifical, it is very true that they were not most miserable, though there be no resurrection of the dead, though the body were turned into its original nothing; for the joys of the sight of God would, in the soul alone, make them infinite recompense for all the sufferings of this world. But that which the saints have after their dissolution, being only the comforts of a holy hope, the argument remains good: for these intermedial hopes being nothing at all, but in relation to the resurrection, these hopes do not destroy, but confirm it rather; and if the resurrection were not to be, we should neither have any hopes here, nor hopes hereafter, and therefore the Apostle's word is, 'If here only we had hopes;' that is, if our hopes only related to this life; but because our hopes only relate to the life

to come, and even after this life, we are still but in the regions of an enlarged hope, this life and that interval are both but the same argument to infer a resurrection: for they are the hopes of that state, and the joys of those hopes, and it is the comfort of that joy, which makes them blessed who die in the love of God, and the faith and obedience of the Lord Jesus.

And now to the proposition itself.

In the state of separation, the souls departed perceive the blessing and comfort of their labors; they are alive after death; and after death, immediately they find great refreshments. *Justorum animæ in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum mortis:* 'The torments of death shall not touch the souls of the righteous, because they are in the hands of God:'* and fifteen hundred years after the death of Moses, we find him talking with our blessed Saviour in his transfiguration on mount Tabor: and as Moses was then, so are all the saints immediately after death, *præsentes apud Dominum*, 'they are present with the Lord;' and to be so is not a state of death; and yet of this it is that St. Paul affirms it to be much better than to be alive.

And this was the undoubted sentence of the Jews before Christ, and since; and therefore our blessed Saviour told the converted thief, that he should 'that day be with him in paradise.' Now without peradventure, he spake so as he was to be understood: meaning by 'paradise,' that which the schools and pulpits of the Rabbins did usually speak of it. By paradise, till the time of Esdras, it is certain the Jews only meant the blessed garden, in which God only placed Adam and Eve: but in the time of Esdras, and so downward, when they spake distinctly of things to happen after this life, and began to signify their new discoveries, and modern philosophy by names, they called the state of souls, expecting the resurrection of their bodies, by the name of גן עדן, 'the garden of Eden.' Hence came that form of comprecation, and blessing to the soul of an Israelite, *Sit anima ejus in horto Eden*, "Let his soul be in the garden of Eden;" and in their solemn prayers at the time of their death, they were wont to say, "Let his soul rest; and

* Wisd. iii. 1.

let his sleep be in peace, until the Comforter shall come, and open the gates of paradise unto him;" expressly distinguishing paradise from the state of the resurrection: and so it is evident, in the intercourse on the cross between Christ and the converted thief. "That day both were to be in paradise;" but Christ himself was not then ascended into heaven, and therefore paradise was no part of that region, where Christ now, and hereafter the saints shall reign in glory. For παράδεισος did, by use and custom, signify "any place of beauty and pleasure." So the LXX read Eccles. ii. 5. 'I made me gardens and orchards,' 'I made me a paradise,' so it is in the Greek; and Cicero* having found this strange word in Xenophon, renders it by *conseptum agrum ac diligenter consitum:* "a field well hedged and set with flowers and fruit:"—*vivarium*, Gellius renders it, "a place to keep birds and beasts alive for pleasure." Pollux says this word was Persian by its original; yet because by traduction it became a Hebrew, we may best learn the meaning of it from the Jews, who used it most often, and whose sense we better understand. Their meaning, therefore, was this; that as paradise, or the garden of Eden, was a place of great beauty, pleasure, and tranquillity; so the state of separate souls was a state of peace and excellent delights. So Philo allegorically does expound paradise: Λέγουσι γὰρ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ φύτα εἶναι μηδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ ζωῆς, ἀθανασίας, εἰδήσεως: "For the trees that grow in paradise are not like ours; but they bring forth knowlegc, and life, and immortality." It is, therefore, more than probable, that when the converted thief heard our blessed Saviour speak of 'paradise,' or 'Gan Eden,' he, 'who was a Jew, and heard that on that day he should be there, understood the meaning to be, that he should be there, where all the good Jews did believe the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to be placed. As if Christ had said; Though you only ask to be remembered when I come into my kingdom, not only that shall be performed in time, but even to-day thou shalt have great refreshment; and this the Hellenish Jews called ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ παραδείσου, "the rest of paradise:" and παράκλησιν, "the comfort" of paradise;

* De Sen. xvii.

the word being also warranted from that concerning Lazarus; παρακαλεῖται, 'he is comforted.'

But this we learn more perfectly from the raptures of St. Paul: 'I knew a man' (meaning himself) 'rapt up into the third heaven: and I knew such a man, how that he was caught up into paradise.'* The raptures and visions were distinct; for St. Paul, being a Jew, and speaking after the manner of his nation, makes 'paradise' a distinct thing from 'the third heaven:' for the Jews deny any 'orbes' to be in heaven; but they make three regions only, the one of clouds, the second of stars, and the third of angels. To this third or supreme heaven was St. Paul rapt; but he was also borne to paradise, to another place distinct and separate by time and station; for by paradise his countrymen never understood the third heaven. But there also it was that he heard τὰ ἄῤῥητα ῥήματα, 'unspeakable words,' great glorifications of God, huge excellences, such which he might not, or could not utter below. The effect of these considerations is this; that although the saints are not yet admitted to the blessings consequent to a happy resurrection, yet they have the intermedial entertainments of a present and a great joy.

To this purpose are those words to be understood, 'To him that overcomes, will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God:'† that is, if I may have leave to expound these words to mean what the Jews did about that time understand by such words, δένδρον τῆς ζωῆς, 'the tree of life,' does signify the principle of peace and holiness, of wisdom and comforts for ever. Philo, expounding it, calls it τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἀρετῶν θεοσεβείαν, δι' ἧς ἀθανατίζεται ἡ ψυχή: "the worship of God, the greatest of all virtues, by which the soul is made to live for ever:" as if by eating of this tree of life in the paradise of God, they did mean, that they who die well shall immediately be feasted with the deliciousness of a holy conscience, which the Spirit of God expresses by saying, 'They shall walk up and down in white garments, and their works shall follow them;' their tree of life shall germinate; they shall then feel the comforts of having done good works; a

* 2 Cor. xii. 2. † Rev. ii. 7.

sweet remembrance and a holy peace shall caress and feast them, and there they shall 'walk up and down in white;'* that is, as candidates of the resurrection to immortality.

And this allegory of the garden of Eden and paradise was so heartily pursued by the Jews, to represent the state of separation, that the Essenes describe that state by the circumstances and ornaments of a blessed garden: Χῶρον οὔτε ὄμβροις, οὔτε νιφετοῖς, οὔτε κύμασι βαρυνόμενον: "a region that is not troubled with clouds, or showers, or storms, or blasts:" ἀλλ' ὃν ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ πραὺς ἀεὶ ζέφυρος ἐπιπνείων ἀναψύχει: "but a place which is perpetually refreshed with delicious breaths." This was it which the heathens did dream concerning the Elysian fields; for all the notices περὶ Ἅιδου, concerning the regions of separate souls, came into Greece from the barbarians, says Diodorus Siculus; and Tertullian observes, although we call that paradise, which is a place appointed to receive the souls of the saints, and that this is separated from the notices of the world by a wall of fire, a portion of the torrid zone (which he supposes to be meant by the flaming sword of the angel placed at the gates of paradise); yet, says he, the Elysian fields have already possessed the faith and opinions of men. All comes from the same fountain, the doctrine of the old synagogue, confirmed by the words of Christ, and the commentaries of the Apostles; namely, that after death, before the day of judgment, there is a paradise for God's servants, a region of rest, of comfort, and holy expectations. And, therefore, it is remarkable that these words of the Psalmist, *Ne rapias me in medio dierum meorum;*† 'snatch me not away in the midst of my days;' in the Hebrew it is, *Ne facias me ascendere;* 'make me not to ascend,' or to go upwards; meaning, to the supernatural regions of separate souls, who, after death, are in their beginnings of exultation. For to them that die in the Lord, death is a preferment, it is a part of their great good fortune; for death hath not only lost the sting, but it brings a coronet in his hand, which will invest and adorn the heads of saints, till that day come in which the crown of righteousness shall be brought forth, to give them the investiture of an everlasting kingdom.

* Rev. iii. 4, 5. and xiv. 13. † Psal. cii. 25.

But that I may take up this proposition useful and clear, I am to add some things by way of supplement.

1. This place of separation was called 'paradise' by the Jews, and by Christ, and after Christ's ascension, by St. John, because it signifies a place of pleasure and rest; and therefore, by the same analogy, the word may be still used in all the periods of the world, though the circumstances, or though the state of things, be changed. It is generally supposed that this had a proper name, and in the Old Testament was called 'Abraham's bosom;' that is, the region where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob did dwell, till the coming of Christ. But I suppose myself to have great reason to dissent from this common opinion; for this word of 'Abraham's bosom,' being but once used in both the Testaments, and then particularly applied to the person of Lazarus, must needs signify the eminence and privilege of joy that Lazarus had: for all that were in the blessed state of separation, were not in 'Abraham's bosom,' but only the best and most excellent persons; but they were μετὰ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, 'with Abraham;' and the analogy of the phrase to the manner of the Jewish feasting, where the best guest did lie in the bosom of the master, that is, had the best place, makes it most reasonable to believe that 'Abraham's bosom' does not signify the general state of separation, even of the blessed, but the choicest place in that state, a greater degree of blessedness. But because he is the father of the faithful, therefore, to be with Abraham, or to sit down with Abraham, in the time of the Old Testament, did signify the same thing as to be in paradise; but to be in 'Abraham's bosom' signifies a great eminence of place and comfort, which is indulged to the most excellent and the most afflicted.

2. Although the state of separation may now also, and is by St. John called paradise, because the allegory still holds perfectly, as signifying comfort and holy pleasures; yet the spirits of good men are not to be said 'to be with Abraham,' but 'to be with Christ;' and as being with Abraham was the specification of the more general word of paradise in the Old Testament, so 'being with Christ' is the specification of it in the New. So St. Stephen prayed, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;' and St. Paul said, 'I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ;' which expression St. Polycarp also used in his epistle to the

Philippians, ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον, εἰσὶ παρὰ Κυρίῳ: "they are in the place that is due to them, they are with the Lord;" that is, in the hands, in the custody, of the Lord Jesus; as appears in the words of St. Stephen and St. Paul. So St. Jerome: *Scimus Nepotianum nostrum esse cum Christo, et sanctorum mixtum choris:* "We know that our Nepotian is with Christ, mingled in the choirs of saints." On this account (and it is not at all unreasonable) the church hath conjectured, that the state of separate souls, since the glorification of our Lord, is much bettered and advanced, and their comforts greater; because, as before Christ's coming, the expectation of the saints that slept was fixed on the revelation of the Messias in his first coming, so now it is on the second coming unto judgment, and in his glory. This improvement of their condition is well intimated by their being said to be under the altar; that is, under the protection of Christ; under the powers and benefits of his priesthood, by which he makes continual intercession both for them and us. This place some of the old doctors understood too literally, and from hence they believed that the souls of departed saints were under their material altars; which fancy produced that fond decree of the council of Eliberis,* that wax lights should not by day be burnt in cemeteries, *inquietandi enim spiritus sanctorum non sunt:* "lest the spirits of saints should, by the light of the diurnal tapers, be disquieted." This reason, though it be trifling and impertinent, yet it declares their opinion, that they supposed their souls to be near their relics, which were placed under the altars. But better than this their state is described by St. John, in these words: 'Therefore they are before the throne of God, and serve him night and day in his temple, and he that sits on the throne shall dwell among them.' With which general words, as being modest bounds to our inquiries, enough to tell us it is rarely well, but enough also to chastise all curious questions, let us remain content; and labor with faith and patience, with hope and charity, to be made worthy to partake of those comforts, after which when we have long inquired, when at last we come to try what they are, we shall find them much better, and much otherwise than we imagine.

* Can. iii. 4.

3. I am to admonish this also; that although our blessed Saviour is, in the creed, said to descend εἰς Ἅιδου, 'into hell' (so we render it); yet this does not at all prejudice his other words, 'This day thou shalt be with me in paradise:' for the word εἰς Ἅιδου signifies indefinitely the state of separation, whether blessed or accursed; it means only the invisible place, or the region of darkness, whither whoso descends shall be no more seen. For as among the heathens the Elysian fields and *Tartara* are both ἐν Ἅιδου, so, amongst the Jews and Christians, *paradisus* and *gehenna* are the distinct states of Hades. Of the first we have a plain testimony in Diphilus:

> Καὶ γὰρ καθ' Ἅιδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν,
> Μίαν δικαίων, κἀτέραν ἀσεβῶν ὁδόν·

"In Hades there are two ways, one for just men, and another for the impious." Of the second we have the testimony of Josephus, who, speaking of the Sadducees, says, τὰς καθ' Ἅιδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσι, "they take away or deny the rewards and punishments respectively which are in Hades," or in the state of separation; so that if Christ's soul was in paradise, he was in Hades. In vain, therefore, does St. Austin torment himself to tell how Christ could be in both places at once, when it is no harder than to tell how a man may be in England and London at the same time.

4. It is observable, that in the mentions of paradise by St. John, he twice speaks of 'the tree of life,' but never of 'the tree of knowlege of good and evil;' because this was the symbol of secular knowlege, of prudence and skill of doing things of this world, which we can naturally use; we may smell and taste them, but not feed on them; that is, these are no part of our enjoyment; and if we be given up to the study of such notices, and be immerged in the things of this world, we cannot attend to the studies of religion and of the divine service. But these cares and secular divertisements shall cease, when our souls are placed in paradise; there shall be no care taken for raising portions for our children, nor to provide bread for our tables; no cunning contrivances to be safe from the crafty snare of an enemy; no amazement at losses, no fear of slanderings, or of the gripes of publicans: but we shall feed on the

tree of life, love of God, and longings for the coming of Christ: we are then all spirit, and our employment shall be symbolical, that is, spiritual, holy, and pleasant.

I have now made it as evident as questions of this nature will bear, that, in the state of separation, the spirits of good men shall be blessed and happy souls,—they have an antepast or taste of their reward: but their great reward itself, their crown of righteousness, shall not be yet; that shall not be until the day of judgment; and this was the third proposition I undertook to prove; the consummation and perfection of the saints' felicity shall be at the resurrection of the dead.

'Εν παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, 'at his coming;' so St. John expresses the time, 'that we may not then be ashamed: for now we are the sons of God, but it does not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like unto him, and see him as he is.'* At his glorious appearing, we shall also appear glorious; we shall see him as he is; but till then, this beatific vision shall not be at all; but for the interval, the case is otherwise. Tertullian affirms, *Puniri et foveri animam interim in inferis, sub expectatione utriusque judicii:* "the souls are punished or refreshed in their regions, expecting the day of their judgment and several sentences."† *Habitacula illa animarum promptuaria nominavit Scriptura*, saith St. Ambrose: "the Scripture calls these habitations, the promptuaries, or repositories of souls."‡ There is comfort, but not the full reward: a certain expectation, supported with excellent intervals of joy: *refrigerium*, so the Latins call it, "a refreshment." *Donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat, tunc apparitura cœlesti promissione*, saith Tertullian: "until the consummation of all things points out the resurrection, by the fulness of reward, and the appearing of the heavenly promise." So the author of the questions *ad orthodoxos:*§ "Immediately after death, presently there is a separation of the just from the unjust;" for they are borne by angels εἰς ἀξίους αὐτῶν τόπους, "into the places they have deserved;"

* 1 John, ii. 28. iii. 2.

† Lib. de Anima, et lib. adv. Marcion.

‡ De Bono Mortis, cap. 10. § Quæst. 75.

and they are in those places φυλαττόμεναι ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως, "kept unto the day of resurrection and retribution." But what do they in the mean time? how is it with them? Θαυμασίαν τίνα ἡδονὴν ἥδεται, καὶ ἀγάλλεται, says Nazianzen:* "they rejoice and are delighted in a wonderful joy."—"They see angels and archangels, they converse with them, and see our blessed Saviour Jesus in his glorified humanity:" so Justin Martyr.† But in these great joys they look for greater. They are now *in paradiso*, but they long that the body and soul may be in heaven together; but this is the glory of the day of judgment, the fruit of the resurrection. And this whole affair is agreeable to reason and the analogy of the whole dispensation, as it is generally and particularly described in Scripture.

For when the greatest effect of the Divine power, the mightiest promise, that hardest thing to Christian faith, that impossible thing to gentile philosophy, the expectation of the whole world, the new creation, when that shall come to pass, viz. that the souls shall be reinvested with their bodies, when the ashes of dissolved bones shall stand up a new and living frame; to suppose that then there shall be nothing done in order to eternity, but to publish the salvation of saints, of which they were possessed before, is to make a great solemnity for nothing, to do great things for no great end, and, therefore, it is not reasonable to suppose it,

For if it were a good argument of the Apostle, that the patriarchs and saints of the Old Testament received not the promises signified by Canaan and the land of promise, because 'God hath provided some better thing for us, that without us they should not be made perfect,' it must also conclude of all alike; that they who died since Christ, must stay till the last day, that they and we and all may be made perfect together. And this very thing was told to the spirits of the martyrs, who under the altar cried, 'How long, O Lord,'‡ &c. that they should 'rest yet for a little season,' until their fellow-servants also shall be fulfilled.

* Orat. Funebr. Cæsar. Fratris. † Ubi supra.

‡ Rev. vi. 10.

On this account it is that the day of judgment is a day of recompense. So said our blessed Lord himself: 'Thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.'* And this is the day in which all things shall be restored; for 'the heavens must receive Jesus till the time of restitution of all things:'† and till then, the reward is said to be 'laid up.' So St. Paul: 'Henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the righteous Judge shall give me in that day.' And that you may know he means the resurrection and the day of judgment, he adds, 'and not to me only, but to all them that love his coming;'‡ of whom it is certain many shall be alive at that day, and therefore cannot, before that day, receive the crown of righteousness: and then also, and not till then, shall be his appearing; but till then, it is a *depositum*. The sum is this: in the world, we walk and live by faith; in the state of separation, we live by hope; and in the resurrection, we shall live by an eternal charity. Here we see God as 'in a glass, darkly;' in the separation we shall behold him, but it is afar off; and after the resurrection we shall see him 'face to face,' in the everlasting comprehensions of an intuitive beatitude. In this life we are warriors; in the separation we are conquerors; but we shall not triumph till after the resurrection.

And in proportion to this is also the state of devils and damned spirits. 'Art thou come to torment us before the time?' said the devils to our blessed Saviour. There is for them also an appointed time, and when that is we learn from St. Jude: 'They are reserved in chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day.'§ Well, therefore, did St. James affirm, 'that the devils believe and tremble;' and so do the damned souls, with an insupportable amazement, fearing the revelation of that day. They know that day will come, and they know they shall find an intolerable sentence on that day; and they fear infinitely, and are in amazement and confusion, feeling the worm of conscience, and are in the state of devils, who fear God and hate him; they tremble, but they love him not; and yet they die because they would not love him, because they

* Luke, xiv. 14. † Acts, iii. 7. ‡ 2 Tim. iv. 8.
§ ver. vi.

would not with their powers and strengths keep his commandments.

This doctrine, though of late it hath been laid aside, on the interest of the church of Rome, and for compliance with some other schools, yet was it universally the doctrine of the primitive church; as appears out of Justin Martyr, who, in his dialogues with Tryphon, reckons this amongst the ἑτεροδοξίαι, "errors," of some men, who say there shall be no resurrection of the dead; but that, as soon as good men are dead, τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, "their souls are taken up immediately into heaven." And the writer of the questions *ad orthodoxos*, asks,* whether, before the resurrection, there shall be a reward of works? because to the thief paradise was promised that day. He answers; "It was fit the thief should go to paradise, and there perceive what things should be given to the works of faith; but there he is kept, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως, 'until the day of resurrection and reward.'" But in paradise the soul hath an intellectual perception, both of herself, and of those things which are under her.

Concerning which I shall not need to heap up testimonies. This only: it is the doctrine of the Greek church unto this day; and was the opinion of the greatest part of the ancient church, both Latin and Greek; and by degrees was, in the west, eaten out by the doctrine of purgatory and invocation of saints; and rejected a little above two hundred years ago, in the council of Florence; and since that time it hath been more generally taught, that the souls of good men enjoy the beatific vision before the resurrection, even presently on the dissolution. According to which new opinion it will be impossible to understand the meaning of my text, and of divers other places of Scripture, which I have now alleged and explicated; or at all to perceive the economy and dispensation of the day of judgment; or how it can be a day of discerning; or how the reapers (the angels) shall bind up the wicked into bundles, and throw them into the unquenchable fire; or yet how it can be useful, or necessary, or prudent, for Christ to give a solemn sentence on all the world; and how it can be, that that day should be so for-

* Quæst. 60. 75. 76.

midable and full of terrors, when nothing can affright those that have long enjoyed the beatific presence of God; and no thunders or earthquakes can affright them, who have on them the biggest evil in the world, I mean the damned, who, according to this opinion, have been in hell for many ages: and it can mean nothing but to them that are alive; and then it is but a particular, not a universal judgment; and after all it can pretend to no piety, to no Scripture, to no reason, and only can serve the ends of the church of Rome, who can no way better be confuted in their invocations of saints than by this truth, that the saints do not yet enjoy the beatific vision; and though they are in a state of ease and comfort, yet are not in a state of power and glory and kingdom, till the day of judgment.

This also perfectly does overthrow the doctrine of purgatory: for as the saints departed are not perfect, and therefore certainly not to be invocated, not to be made our patrons and advocates; so neither are they in such a condition as to be in torment; and it is impossible that any wise man should believe that the souls of good men after death should endure the sharp pains of hell, and yet at the same time believe those words of Scripture, 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.'* If they can rest in beds of fire, and sing hymns of glory in the torments of the damned, if their labors are done when their pains are almost infinite, then these words of the Spirit of God, and that doctrine of purgatory, can be reconciled; else never to eternal ages. But it is certain they are words that cannot deceive us: *Non tanget eos tormentum mortis:* "torment in death shall never touch them."

But having established the proposition, and the intended sense of the text, let us awhile consider,

1. That God is our God when we die, if we be his servants while we live; and to be our God signifies very much good to us. He will rescue us from the powers of hell; the devil shall have no part or portion in us; we shall be kept in safe custody; we shall be in the hands of Christ, out of which all the powers of hell shall never snatch us; and therefore we may die with

* Rev. xiv. 13.

confidence, if we die with a good conscience; we have no cause of fear, if we have just grounds to hope for pardon. The Turks have a saying, that the Christians do not believe themselves, when they talk such glorious things of heaven and the state of separation; for if they did, they would not be so afraid to die: but they do not so well consider that Christians believe all this well enough, but they believe better than they live; and therefore they believe and tremble, because they do not live after the rate of going to heaven: they know that for good men glorious things are prepared; but 'Tophet is prepared for evil kings' and unjust rulers, for vicious men and degenerate Christians; there is a hell for accursed souls; and men live without fear of it so long, till their fear, as soon as it begins, in an instant passes into despair, and the fearful groans of the damned. It is no wonder to see men so unwilling to die, to be impatient of the thought of death, to be afraid to make their will, to converse with the solemn scarecrow. He that is fit to die, must have long dwelt with it, must handle it on all sides, must feel whether the sting be taken out: he must examine 'whether he be in Christ;' that is, whether 'he be a new creature.' And indeed I do not so much wonder that any man fears to die, as when I see a careless and a wicked person descend to his grave with as much indifference as he goes to sleep; that is, with no other trouble than that he leaves the world, but he does not fear to die; and yet, on the instant of his dissolution, he goes into the common receptacle of souls, where nothing can be addressed to him but the consequence of what he brings along with him, and he shall presently know whether he shall be saved or damned.

We have read of some men, who by reading or hearing strange opinions, have entered into desperate melancholy, and divers who have perfectly despaired of the Divine mercy; who feeling such horrid convulsions in their souls, such fearful expectations of an eternal curse, that not finding themselves able to bear so intolerable a fear, have hanged or drowned themselves; and yet they only thought so, or feared it; and might have altered it if they would have hoped and prayed: but then let it be considered, when the soul is stripped of the cloud, her body,—when she is entered into strange regions, and con-

verses only with spirits, and sees plainly all that is within her, —when all her sins appear in their own natural ugliness, and set out by their aggravating circumstances; then she remembers her filthy pleasures, and hates them infinitely, as being such things to which she then can have no appetite: then she perceives she shall perish for that which is not, for that whose remembrance is intolerable; when she sees many new secrets which she understood not before, and hath stranger apprehensions of the wrath of God, than ever could be represented in this life: when she hath the notices of a spirit, and an understanding pure enough to see essences, and rightly to weigh all the degrees of things; when, possibly, she is often affrighted with the alarms and conjectures of the day of judgment; or if she be not, yet certainly knows not only by faith and fear, but by a clear light and proper knowlege, that it shall certainly come, and its effects shall remain for ever; then she hath time enough to bewail her own folly and remediless infelicity. If we could now think seriously, that things must come to that pass, and place ourselves, by holy meditation, in the circumstances of that condition, and consider what we should then think,—how miserably deplore our folly, how comfortless remember our ill-gotten wealth; with how much asperity and deep sighing we should call to mind our foolish pride, our trifling swearing, our beastly drinkings, our unreasonable and brutish lusts; it could not be but we must grow wiser on a sudden, despise the world, betake ourselves to a strict religion, reject all vanities of spirit, and be sober and watch unto prayer. If any of us had but a strange dream, and should, in the fears of the night, but suppose ourselves in hell, and be affrighted with those circumstances of damnation which we can tell of, and use in our imperfect notices of things, it would effect strange changes on a ductile and malleable spirit. A frequent, severe meditation can do more than a seldom and a fantastic dream; but an active faith can do more than all the arts and contingencies of fancy or discourse.

Now it is well with us, and we may yet secure it shall be well with us for ever; but within an hour it may be otherwise with any of us all, who do not instantly take courses of security. But he that does not, would, in such a change, soon

come to wish that he might exchange his state with the meanest, with the miserablest of all mankind; with galley-slaves and miners, with men condemned to tortures for a good conscience.

> Sed cum pulchra minax succidet membra securis,
> Quam velles spinas tunc habuisse meas! *

In the day of felling timber, the shrub and the bramble are better than the tallest fir or the goodliest cedar; and a poor saint, whose soul is in the hand of Jesus, placed under the altar, over which our high priest, like the cherubim over the propitiatory, intercedes perpetually for the hastening of his glory, is better than the greatest tyrant, who, if he dies, is undone for ever. For, in the interval, there shall be rest and comfort to the one, and torment, and amazement, and hellish confusion to the other; and the day of judgment will come, and it shall appear to all the world, that they whose joys were not in this world, were not, 'of all men, most miserable,' because their joys and their life were hid with Christ in God, and, at the resurrection of the just, shall be brought forth, and be illustrious, beyond all the beauties of the world.

I have now done with my text, and been the expounder of this part of the divine oracle; but here is another text, and another sermon yet. Ye have heard Moses and the prophets; now hear one from the dead, whose life and death would each of them make an excellent sermon, if this dead man had a good interpreter: for he being dead, yet speaketh, and calleth on us to live well, and to live quickly, to watch perpetually, and to work assiduously; for we shall descend into the same shadows of death.

> Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
> Uxor; neque harum, quas colis, arborum
> Te, præter invisas cupressos,
> Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.†

"Thou must leave thy rich land, and thy well-built house, and thy pleasing wife; and of all the trees of thy orchard or thy wood, nothing shall attend thee to the grave, but oak for

* Avien. fab. 19. 13. † Hor. Od. ii. 14. 21.

thy coffin, and cypress for thy funeral." It shall not then be inquired how long thou hast lived, but how well. None below will be concerned, whether thou wert rich or poor, but all the spirits of light and darkness shall be busy in the scrutiny of thy life; for the good angels would fain carry thy soul to Christ; and if they do, the devils will follow, and accuse thee there; and when thou appearest before the righteous Judge, what will become of thee, unless Christ be thy advocate, and God be merciful and appeased, and the angels be thy guards, and a holy conscience be thy comfort? There will to every one of us come a time, when we shall, with great passion and great interest, inquire, how have I spent my days, how have I laid out my money, how have I employed my time, how have I served God, and how repented me of my sins? and, on our answer to these questions, depends a happy or an unhappy eternity: and blessed is he, who, concerning these things, takes care in time; and of this care I may with much confidence and comfort propound to you the example of this good man, whose relics lie before you: Sir George Dalston, of Dalston in Cumberland, a worthy man, beloved of his country, useful to his friends, friendly to all men, careful of his religion, and a true servant of God.

He was descended of an ancient and worthy house in Cumberland; and he adorned his family and extraction with a more worthy comportment; for to be of a worthy family, and to bring to it no stock of our proper virtue, is to be upbraided by our family; and a worthy father can be no honor to his son, when it shall be said, "Behold the difference: this crab descended from a goodly apple-tree;" but he who beautifies the escutcheon of his ancestors by worthy achievements, by learning, or by wisdom, by valor and by great employments, by a holy life and a useful conversation, that man is the parent of his own fame, and a new beginner of an ancient family; for, as conversation is a perpetual creation, so is the progression of a family in a line of worthy descendants, a daily beginning of its honor, and a new stabiliment.

He was bred in learning, in which Cambridge was his tiring room, and the court of queen Elizabeth was his stage, in which he first represented the part of a hopeful young man; but there

he stayed not: his friends, not being desirous that the levities of youth should be fermented by the liberties of a rich and splendid court, caused him to lie in the restraints, and to grow ripe in the sobrieties of a country life, and a married state; in which, as I am informed, he behaved himself with so great worthiness, and gave such probation of his love of justice, popular regards of his country's good, and abilities to serve them, that, for almost forty years together, his county chose him for their knight, to serve in all the intervening parliaments. *Magistratus, indicatorium;* "employment shows the man:" he was a leading man in parliaments, prevailing there by the great reputation of his justice and integrity; and yet he was not unpleasant and hated at court: for he had well understood, that the true interests of courts and parliaments were one, and that they are like the humors of the body; if you increase one beyond its limit, that destroys all the rest, and itself at last; and when they look on themselves as enemies, and that hot and cold must fight, the prevailing part is abated in the conflict; and the vanquished part is destroyed: but when they look on themselves as varieties serving the differing aspects and necessities of the same body, they are for the allay of each other's exorbitances and excesses, and, by keeping their own measures, they preserve the man: this the good man well understood; for so he comported himself, that he was loud in parliaments, and valued at court; he was respected in very many parliaments, and was worthily regarded by the worthy kings; which, without an orator, commends a man: *Gravissimi principis judicium in minoribus etiam rebus consequi pulchrum est,* said Pliny; "to be approved, though but in lesser terms, by the judgment of a wise prince, is a great ornament to a man." For as king Theodoric, in Cassiodore, said, *Neque dignus est a quopiam redargui, qui nostro judicio meretur absolvi:* "No man to reprove him, whom the king aught commends."

But I need no artifices to represent him worthy: his arguments of probation were within, in the magazines of a good heart, and represented themselves by worthy actions. For God was pleased to invest him with a marvellous sweet nature, which is certainly to be reckoned as one half of the grace of God: because a good nature, being the relics and remains of

that shipwreck which Adam made, is the proper and immediate disposition to holiness, as the corruption of Adam was to disobedience and peevish counsels. A good nature will not upbraid the more imperfect persons, will not deride the ignorant, will not reproach the erring man, will not smite sinners on the face, will not despise the penitent. A good nature is apt to forgive injuries, to pity the miserable, to rescue the oppressed, to make every one's condition as tolerable as he can; and so would he. For, as when good nature is heightened by the grace of God, that which was natural becomes now spiritual; so these actions which proceeded from an excellent nature, and were pleasing and useful to men,—when they derive from a new principle of grace, they become pleasant in the eyes of God: then obedience to laws is duty to God; justice is righteousness, bounty becomes graciousness, and alms is charity.

And, indeed, this is a grace in which this good man was very remarkable, being very frequent and much in alms, tender-hearted to the poor, open-handed to relieve their needs; the bellies of the poor did bless him, he filled them with food and gladness; and I have heard that he was so regular, so constant, so free in this duty, that in these late unhappy wars, being in a garrison, and near the suffering some rude accidents, the beggars made themselves guard, and rescued him from that trouble, who had so often rescued them from hunger.

He was of a meek and gentle spirit, but not too soft; he knew how to do good, and how to put by an injury; but I have heard it told by them that knew his life, that being, by the unavoidable trouble of a great estate, engaged in great suits at law, he was never plaintiff, but always on the defensive part; and that he had reason on his side, and justice for him, I need allege no other testimony, but that the sentence of his judges so declared it.

But that in which I propound this good man most imitable, was in his religion; for he was a great lover of the church, a constant attender to the sermons of the church, a diligent hearer of the prayers of the church, and an obedient son to perform the commands of the church. He was diligent in his times and circumstances of devotion; he would often be at church so

early, that he was seen to walk long in the church-yard before prayers, being as ready to confess his sins at the beginning, as to receive the blessing at the end of prayers. Indeed he was so great a lover of sermons, that though he knew how to value that which was the best, yet he was patient of that which was not so; and if he could not learn any thing to improve his faith, yet he would find something to exercise his patience, and something for charity: yet this his great love of sermons could not tempt him to a willingness of neglecting the prayers of the church, of which he was a great lover to his dying day. *Oves meæ exaudiunt vocem meam*, says Christ; 'my sheep hear my voice;' and so the church says, "my sheep hear my voice, they love my words, they pray in my forms, they observe my orders, they delight in my offices, they revere my ministers, and obey my constitutions:" and so did he; loving to have his soul recommended to God, and his needs represented, and his sins confessed, and his pardon implored, in the words of his mother, in the voice and accent of her that nursed him up to a spiritual life, to be a man in Christ Jesus.

He was indeed a great lover, and had a great regard for God's ministers, ever remembering the words of God, 'keep my rest, and reverence my priests:' he honored the calling in all, but he loved and revered the persons of such who were conscientious keepers of their *depositum*, "that trust," which was committed to them: such which did not for interest quit their conscience, and did not, to preserve some parts of their revenue, quit some portions of their religion. He knew that what was true in 1639, was also true in 1644, and so to 57, and shall continue true to eternal ages; and they that change their persuasions by force or interest, did neither believe well nor ill, on competent and just grounds; they are not just, though they happen on the right side. Hope of gain did by chance teach them well, and fear of loss abuses them directly. He pitied the persecuted, and never would take part with persecutors: he prayed for his prince, and served him in what he could: he loved God, and loved the church: he was a lover of his country's liberties, and yet an observer of the laws of his king.

Thus he behaved himself to all his superior relatives; to his

equals and dependents he was also just, and kind, and loving. He was an excellent friend, laying out his own interest to serve theirs; sparing not himself, that he might serve them; as knowing society to be the advantage of man's nature, and friendship the ornament of society, and usefulness the ornament of friendship; and in this he was well known to be very worthy. He was tender and careful of his children, and so provident and so wise, so loving and obliging to his whole family, that he justly had that love and regard, that duty and observance from them, which his kindness and his care had merited. He was a provident and careful conductor of his estate; but far from covetousness, as appeared toward the evening of his life, in which that vice does usually prevail amongst old men, who are more greedy when they have least need, and load their sumpters so much the more, by how much nearer they are to their journey's end: but he made a demonstration of the contrary; for he washed his hands and heart of the world, gave up his estate, long before his death or sickness, to be managed by his only son, whom he left since, but then first made and saw him his heir; he emptied his hands of secular employment; meddled not with mouey, but for the uses of the poor, for piety, justice, and religion.

And now having divested himself of all objections and his conversation with the world, quitting his affections to it, he wholly gave himself to religion and devotion: he awakened early, and would presently be entertained with reading; when he rose, still he would be read to, and hear some of the Psalms of David; and excepting only what time he took for the necessities of his life and health, all the rest he gave to prayer, reading, and meditation, save only that he did not neglect, nor rudely entertain the visits and kind offices of his neighbors.

But in this great vacation from the world he espied his advantages: he knew well, according to the saying of the emperor Charles V., *Oportet inter vitæ negotia et diem mortis spatium aliquod intercedere;* there ought to be a valley between two such mountains, the business of our life, and the troubles of our death; and he stayed not till the noise of the Bridegroom's coming did awaken and affright him; but by

daily prayers twice a day, constantly with his family, besides the piety and devotion of his own retirements, by a monthly communion, by weekly sermons, and by the religion of every day, he stood in procincts, ready with oil in his lamp, watching till his Lord should call.

And, indeed, when he was hearing what God did speak to him of duty, he also received his summons to give his account: for he was so pertinacious and attendant to God's holy word, and the services of the church, that though he found himself sick, he would not off, but stay till the solemnity was done; but it pleased God at church to give him his first arrest; and since that time I have often visited him, and found him always doing his work, with the greatest evenness and indifferency of spirit, as to the event of life and death, that I have observed in any. He was not unwilling to live; but if he should, he resolved to spend his life wholly in the service of God: but yet neither was he unwilling to die, because he then knew he should weep no more, and he should sin no more. He was very confident, but yet with great humility and great modesty, of the pardon of his sins; he had indeed lived without scandal, but he knew he had not lived without error; but as God had assisted him to avoid the reproach of great crimes, so he doubted not but he should find pardon for the less; and, indeed, I could not but observe, that he had, in all the time of his sickness, a very quiet conscience; which is to me an excellent demonstration of the state of his life, and the state of his grace and pardon: for though he seemed to have a conscience tender and nice, if any evil thing had touched it; yet I could not but apprehend that his peace was a just peace, the mercy of God, and the price and the effect of the blood of Jesus.

He was so joyful, so thankful, so pleased in the ministries of the church, that it gave in evidence where his soul was most delighted, what it did apprehend the quickest, where it did use to dwell, and what it did most passionately love. He discoursed much of the mercies of God to him, repeated the blessings of his life, the accidents and instruments of his trouble; he loved the cause of his trouble, and pardoned them that neither loved it nor him.

When he had spent great portions of his time of sickness in

the service of God, and in expectation of the sentence of his life or death, at last he understood the still voice of God, and that he was to go where his soul loved to be: he still increased his devotion, and being admonished, as his strength failed him, to supply his usual forms, and his want of strength and words, by short exercise of virtues, of faith and patience, and the love of God; he did it so willingly, so well, so readily, making his eyes, his hands, and his tongue, as long as he could, the interpreters of his mind, that as long as he was alive, he would see what his soul was doing. He doubted not of the truth of the promises, nor of the goodness of God, nor the satisfaction of Christ, and the merits of his death, nor the fruit of his resurrection, nor the prevalency of his intercession, nor yet doubted of his own part in them; but expected his portions in the regions of blessedness, with those who loved God, and served him heartily and faithfully in their generations.

He had so great a patience in his sickness, and was so afraid lest he should sin at last, that his piety outdid his nature; and though the body cannot feel but by the soul, yet his soul seemed so little concerned in the passions of the body, that I neither observed, nor heard of him, that he in all his sickness so much as complained with any semblance of impatience.

He so continued to pray, so delighted in hearing psalms sung, which I wish were made as fit to sing by their numbers as they are by their weight, that so very much of his time was spent in them, that it was very likely when his Lord came he would find him so doing; and he did so: for in the midst of prayers he went away, and got to heaven as soon as they; and saw them (as we hope) presented to the throne of grace; he went along with them himself, and was his own messenger to heaven; where although he possibly might prevent his last prayers, yet he would not prevent God's early mercy, which, as we humbly hope, gave him pardon for his sins, ease of his pain, joy after his sorrow, certainty for his fears, heaven for earth, innocence and impeccability instead of his infirmity.

Ergo Quinctilium perpetuus sopor
Urget! cui Pudor, et Justitiæ soror
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas
Quando ullum inveniet parem?

Faith and justice, modesty and pure righteousness, made him equal to the worthiest examples: he was χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ, "a good man:" loving and humble, meek and patient, he would be sure to be the last in contention, and the first at a peace; he would injure no man, but yet if any man was displeased with him, he would speak first, and offer words of kindness; if any did dispute concerning priority, he knew how to get it, even by yielding and compliance; walking profitably with his neighbors, and humbly with his God; and having lived a life of piety, he died in a full age, an honorable old age, in the midst of his friends, and in the midst of prayer: and although the events of the other world are hidden to us below, that we might live in faith, and walk in hope, and die in charity; yet we have great reason to bless God for his mercies to this our brother, and endeavor to comport ourselves with a strict religion, and a severe repentance; with an exemplar patience, and an exemplar piety; with the structures of a holy life, and the solemnities of a religious death; that we also may, as our confident and humble hope is this our brother doth, by the conduct of angels, pass into the hands and bosom of Jesus, there to expect the most merciful sentence of the right hand, 'Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world.' Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen.

Grant this, eternal God, for Jesus Christ's sake; to whom, with thee, O Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all glory and honor, service and dominion, love and obedience be confessed due, and ever paid by all angels, and all men, and all the creatures, this day, henceforth, and for evermore. Amen.

A

SERMON

PREACHED IN

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, OXFORD,

ON THE

ANNIVERSARY OF THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

HIS GRACE,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONORABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY MOST HONORABLE GOOD LORD!

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

It was obedience to my superior, that engaged me on this last anniversary commemoration of the great goodness of God Almighty to our king and country, in the discovery of the most damnable powder treason. It was a blessing which no tongue could express, much less mine, which had scarce learned to speak,—at least, was most unfit to speak in the schools of the prophets. *Delicata autem est illa obedientia, quæ causas quærit.* It had been no good argument of my obedience to have disputed the inconvenience of my person, and the unaptness of my parts, for such an employment. I knew God, out of the mouth of infants, could acquire his praise; and if my heart were actually as votive as my tongue should have been, it might be one of God's *magnalia* to perfect his own praise out of the weakness and imperfection of the organ. So as I was able, I endeavoured to perform it, having my obedience ever ready for my excuse to men, and my willingness to perform my duty, for the assoilment of myself before God; part of which I hope was accepted, and I have no reason to think that the other was not pardoned.

When I first thought of the barbarism of this treason, I wondered not so much at the thing itself, as by what means it was possible for the devil to gain so strong a party in men's resolutions, as to move them to undertake a business so abhorring from Christianity, so evidently full of extreme danger to their lives, and so certainly to incur the highest wrath of God Almighty. My thoughts were thus rude at first; but, after a strict inquisition, I found it was apprehended as a business, perhaps, full of danger to their bodies, but advantageous to their souls, consonant to the obligation of all Christians, and meritorious of an exceeding weight of glory; for now it was come to pass, which our dear Master foretold, 'Men should kill us, and think they did God good service in it.' I could not think this to be a part of any man's religion, nor do I yet believe it: for it is so apparently destructive of our dear Master's royal laws of charity and obedience, that I must not be so uncharitable as to think they speak their own mind truly, when they profess their belief of the lawfulness and necessity, in some cases, of rebelling against their lawful prince, and using all means to throw him from his kingdom, though it be by taking of his life. But it is but just that they who break the bonds of duty to their prince, should likewise forfeit the laws of charity to themselves, and if they say not true, yet to be more uncharitable to their own persons, than I durst be, though I had their own warrant. Briefly, Most Reverend Father, I found amongst them of the Roman party such prevailing opinions, as could not consist with loyalty to their prince, in case he were not the pope's subject; and these so generally believed, and somewhere obtruded under peril of their souls, that I could not but point at these dangerous rocks, at which, I doubt not, but the loyalty of many hath suffered shipwreck, and of thousands more might, if a higher star had not guided them better than their own pilots.

I could not, therefore, but think it very likely, that this treason might spring from the same fountain; and I had concluded so in my first meditations, but that I was willing to consider, whether or no it might not be, that these men were rather exasperated than persuaded,—and whether it were not that the severity of our laws against them might rather provoke their intemperate zeal, than religion thus move their settled conscience. It was a material consi-

deration, because they ever did, and still do fill the world with outcries against our laws, for making a rape on their consciences; have printed catalogues of their English martyrs; drawn schemes of most strange tortures imposed on their priests, such as were unimaginable by Nero, or Dioclesian, or any of the worst and cruelest enemies of Christianity, endeavoring thus to make us partly guilty of our own ruin; and so washing their hands, in token of their own innocence, even then when they were dipping them in the blood-royal, and would have emptied the best veins in the whole kingdom to fill their lavatory. But I found all these to be but calumnies, strong accusations on weak presumptions, and that the cause did rest where I had begun; I mean on the pretence of the Catholic cause; and that the imagined iniquity of the laws of England could not be made a veil to cover the deformity of their intentions, for our laws were just, honorable, and religious.

Concerning these and some other appendices to the business of the day, I expressed some part of my thoughts, which because happily they were but a just truth, and this truth not unseasonable for these last times, in which, as St. Paul prophesied, 'Men would be fierce traitors, heady and high-minded, creeping into houses, leading silly women captive;' it pleased some who had power to command me, to wish me to a publication of these my short and sudden meditations, that, if it were possible, even this way, I might express my duty to God and the king.

Being thus far encouraged, I resolved to go something farther, even to the boldness of a dedication to your grace; that since I had no merit of my own, to move me to the confidence of a public view, yet I might dare to venture under the protection of your grace's favor. But since my boldness doth as much need a defence as my sermon a patronage, I humbly crave leave to say, that, though it be boldness, even to presumption, yet my address to your grace is not altogether unreasonable.

For since all know that your grace thinks not your life your own, but when it spends itself in the service of your king, opposing your great endeavors against the zealots of both sides, who labor the disturbance of the church and state; I could not think it ἀπροσδιόνυσον to present to your grace this short discovery of the king's enemies, ὡς ἐπικουρίαν βασιλικὴν φιλοβασιλεῖ, and proper to your grace, who

is so true, so zealous a lover of your prince and country. It was likewise appointed to be the public voice of thanksgiving for your university, though she never spake weaker than by so mean an instrument; and, therefore, is accountable to your grace, to whom, under God and the king, we owe the blessing and prosperity of all our studies. Nor yet can I choose but hope, that my great obligations to your grace's favor may plead my pardon, since it is better that my gratitude should be bold, than my diffidence ungrateful; but that this is so far from expressing the least part of them, that it lays a greater bond on me, either for a debt of delinquency in presenting it, or of thankfulness, if your grace may please to pardon it.

I humbly crave your grace's benediction, pardon, and acceptance of the humblest duty and observance of

Your Grace's

Most observant and obliged chaplain,

JER. TAYLOR.

SUMMARY OF A SERMON,

&c. &c.

LUKE, CHAP. IX.—VERSE 50.

PARALLEL of fire in the text. Difference of character between the persons in the text, and those of the day.

The words of the text in their own order point out, 1. the persons that asked the question: 2. the cause that moved them: 3. the person to whom they addressed it: 4. the question itself: 5. the precedent they urged, from a fallible topic, in a special and different case.

I. The persons were disciples of Christ, and Apostles. They were angry, and therefore it is not surprising that they sinned: not the privilege of an apostolical spirit, &c., can guard from sin those who are overruled by passion: this topic enlarged on. The spirits of these 'sons of thunder' had been inflamed under the law, and therefore their blessed Lord reproves them for ignorance, not of the law, but of his spirit.

But we need not look far for persons, professing, at least, to be disciples of Christ's school, yet as great strangers to his merciful spirit, as if they had lived under the law, or had been foster-brothers to Romulus, suckled by a wolf: and they are Romanists too, presented to us by this day's solemnity, who call themselves Christians and Jesuits.

One would have thought that such men, set forth with such merciful appellatives, would have endeavored to support the ruinous fabric of the world's charity, and not have pulled it

over our ears. Inquiry made into this antichristian depravity, and the sermons of those who blast royalty, and breathe forth treason and slaughter, contrary to the spirit of our Lord.

Bloody doctrine of Sanders, our countryman, quoted and commented on, also that of Emmanuel Sà, who, in his Aphorisms, affirms it to be lawful to kill a king, if the pope hath sentenced him to death. Many other instances brought forward. Such doctrines were not denied by the Romanists to Arnald, the French king's advocate: horrid acts of French regicides, commended by papistical writers of eminence. Similar language used by Baronius. Apologists for the Jesuits Guignard and Garnet noticed: enumeration of the abovementioned writers, who would fain make such doctrine catholic: if it prove to be but apostolic too, then is found out an exact parallel for James and John, the Apostles: and whether the See Apostolic may not be sometimes of a fiery and consuming spirit, we have such examples at home, that we need seek no farther for a resolution of the question. Instance of the bull of excommunication put forth by Pius V. against Queen Elizabeth, in which is a command for men to turn rebels, and a necessity for their being traitors: history, nature, and consequences of this bull exposed and commented on. Instance of Sixtus Quintus, who pronounced a speech in full consistory, comparing the assassination of Jacques Clement on Hen. III., to the exploits of Eleazar and Judith. Thus much for the persons that asked the question.

II. Next inquiry; the cause of their angry question. This is learned from the foregoing story: particulars of it cited: reflections on the subject of indiscreet and uncharitable zeal: danger of allowing religion, which ought to be the greatest antidote to malice, to become its greatest incentive, &c. Case of the persons alluded to by the day, compared with that of the disciples.

Endeavors to make a just discovery of the cause which moved such traitors to so accursed a conspiracy.

It is shown that there was no cause at all given to them by us; none were put to death for being Roman Catholics, or punished on account of their religion.

Act of the 13th of Elizabeth against the papal bulls commented on: comments on the farther laws against recusancy, against seditious and traitorous books, and against the residence of popish priests in England; making the first finable with a pecuniary mulct, the two latter capital, as being of a treasonable nature. Concerning seditious and traitorous publications, little need be said. The banishment of the priests was the highest acme of the severity of this state against them: alleviations of this severity enumerated. It is next shown that this proscription was for just cause, as the case then stood, and deserved on their part. It is also shown that it was but reasonable, in case they obeyed not the proscription, that their disobedience should be punished capitally.

It is shown that the traitors were encouraged and primarily moved to this treason, by the prevailing opinion on that side, that it is lawful to depose heretical princes; and not only this, but that it is also necessary, and that Roman Catholics are taught to do it *sub mortali.* Nay, more, the killing such, in case of necessity, or of greater convenience, is not excluded.

If these things be put together, and we should prove to be heretics in their opinion, we are in a fair way, both prince and people, and need look no farther why fire was called for to consume us, nor why we may fear it another time: farther observations on this subject, and the great danger of the assumed power of the pope. So much for the cause of this query of the disciples, when their Lord, for his difference in religion, was turned out.

III. Which when they saw, *they said, Lord.* It was well

they asked at all, and would not too hastily act what they too suddenly intended: it would have been their best warrant, could they have gained his permission. But that was not likely: nothing could be more strange to his disposition: this shown.

Difference between Mahometanism and Christianity in this case pointed out. Practice of the primitive church falsely accounted for by papistical writers. Christ's conduct on the night when he was betrayed considered. Conduct of martyrs. Doctrine of the council of Toledo.

Hence may be drawn a strong antithesis between the spirit of our blessed Saviour, who answered the question of the text, and that of the fathers confessors, of whom was asked the question of the day.

The conduct of these men next considered, as not only misinforming their penitents, but as concealing their intended purpose: for even in this way the persons to whom the question was propounded made themselves guilty of the intended machination: this point argued in two ways.

1. The treason was not revealed to these fathers confessors in formal confession, but only propounded to them in way of question or consultation; not subject to their penitential judicature, &c.

2. If it had been, this did not bind them to secrecy. General reasons why confessions in some cases may be revealed. Doctrine of the church of England, on this head, is in the affirmative: also that of the Roman church. Four cases enumerated, in which it allows the seal of formal confession to be broken; the last of these being that of treason. Examples of such publication both in France and in Rome. Instances given from Sozomen and Origen of the lawfulness of such publication; so that it is vain to contend that the seal of confession is founded on Catholic tradition. So much for the persons to whom the question was propounded: they were the fathers confessors in the day; but it was Christ our Lord in the text.

IV. The question itself follows, *Shall we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them?*

The question was concerning the fate of a whole town of Samaria: in our case it was more; the fate of a whole kingdom. It had been well if such a question had been silenced by a direct negative, or put off indefinitely, &c.: for it was such, that a Christian could not doubt about it, though he had been fearfully scrupulous in his resolutions: this explained.

But to the question. It was fire they called for; the most merciless of the elements,—the fittest instrument for merciless men. It was fire they called for; but not like that in the text,—not fire from heaven. They might have called for that, as loud and as long as those priests did, who contended with Elijah: none would have descended to consume such a sacrifice, &c.

V. Lastly; it was a fire so strange, that it had no example. The Apostles, indeed, pleaded a mistaken precedent; they desired leave to do but *even as Elias did.* The Greek and Roman churches retain only this clause: and really these Romano-barbari could never pretend to any precedent for an act so barbarous. Instances of cruel persecution given from sacred and profane history; by which it is shown that nothing was ever so bad as this accursed treason. Concluding exhortation to thankfulness and praise to God for our escape.

A

SERMON,

&c. &c.

LUKE, CHAP. IX.—VERSE 50.

But when James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did?

I SHALL not need to strain much to bring my text and the day together. Here is 'fire' in the text, 'consuming fire,' like that whose *Antevorta* we do this day commemorate. This fire was called for by the disciples of Christ; so was ours too, by Christ's disciples at least, and some of them entitled to our great Master by the compellation of his holy name of Jesus.

I would say the parallel holds thus far, but that the persons of my text, however 'Boanerges, sons of thunder,' and of a reprovable spirit, yet are no way considerable in the proportion of malice with the persons of the day. For if I consider the cause that moved James and John to so inconsiderate a wrath, it bears a fair excuse:* the men of Samaria turned their Lord and Master out of doors, denying to give a night's lodging to the Lord of heaven and earth. It would have disturbed an excellent patience to see him, whom but just before they beheld transfigured, and in a glorious epiphany on the mount, to be so neglected by a company of hated Samaritans, as to be forced to keep his vigils where nothing but the welkin should have been

* verse 53.

his roof, not any thing to shelter his precious head from the descending dew of heaven.

——— Quis talia fando
Temperet?*

It had been the greater wonder if they had not been angry. But now if we should level our progress by the same line, and guess that in the present affair there was an equal cause, because a greater fire was intended,—we shall too much betray the ingenuity of apparent truth, and the blessing of this anniversary. They had not half such a case for an excuse to a far greater malice: it will prove they had none at all; and, therefore, their malice was so much the more malicious, because causeless and totally inexcusable.

However, I shall endeavor to join their consideration in as near a parallel as I can; which, if it be not exact,—as certainly it cannot, where we have already discovered so much difference in degrees of malice;—yet, by laying them together, we may better take their estimate, though it be only by seeing their disproportion.

The words, as they lie in their own order, point out, 1. the persons that asked the question: 2. the cause that moved them: 3. the person to whom they propounded it: 4. the question itself: 5. and the precedent they urged to move a grant, drawn from a very fallible topic, a singular example, in a special and different case. 1. The persons here were Christ's disciples, and so they are in our case, designed to us by that glorious surname of Christianity: they will be called catholics; but if our discovery perhaps rise higher, and that the see apostolic prove sometimes guilty of so reprovable a spirit, then we are very near to a parallel of the persons, for they were disciples of Christ, and Apostles. 2. The cause was the denying of toleration of abode on the grudge of an old schism; religion was made the instrument. That which should have taught the Apostles to be charitable, and the Samaritans hospitable, was made a pretence to justify the unhospitableness of the one, and the uncharitableness of the other. Thus far we are right; for

* Æn. ii. 6.

the malice of this present treason stood on the same base. 3. Although neither side much doubted of the lawfulness of their proceedings, yet St. James and St. John were so discreet as not to think themselves infallible, therefore they asked their Lord: so did the persons of the day ask the question too, but not of Christ, for he was not in all their thoughts; but yet they asked of Christ's delegates, who, therefore, should have given their answer *ex eodem tripode*, from the same spirit. They were the fathers confessors who were asked. 4. The question is of both sides concerning a consumptive sacrifice, the destruction of a town there, of a whole kingdom here, but differing in the circumstance of place whence they would fetch their fire. The Apostles would have had it from heaven, but these men's conversation was not there. Τὰ κάτωθεν, 'things from beneath,' from an artificial hell, but breathed from the natural and proper, were in all their thoughts. 5. The example, which is the last particular, I fear I must leave quite out; and when you have considered all, perhaps you will look for no example.

First, of the persons; they were disciples of Christ, and Apostles: 'But when James and John saw this.' When first I considered they were Apostles, I wondered they should be so intemperately angry; but when I perceived they were so angry, I wondered not that they sinned. Not the privilege of an apostolical spirit, not the nature of angels, not the condition of immortality, can guard from the danger of sin; but if we be overruled by passion, we almost subject ourselves to its necessity. It was not, therefore, without reason altogether, that the Stoics affirmed wise men to be void of passions; for sure I am, the inordination of any passion is the first step to folly. And although of them, as of waters of a muddy residence, we may make good use, and quench our thirst, if we do not trouble them; yet on any ungentle disturbance we drink down mud instead of a clear stream, and the issues of sin and sorrow, certain consequences of temerarious or inordinate anger. And, therefore, when the Apostle had given us leave to 'be angry,' as knowing the condition of human nature, he quickly enters a caveat that 'we sin not;' he knew sin was very likely to be handmaid where anger did domineer, and this was the reason why St. James and St. John are the men here pointed at; for

the Scripture notes them for 'Boanerges, sons of thunder,' men of an angry temper; *et quid mirum est filios tonitru fulgurasse voluisse?* said St. Ambrose. But there was more in it than thus. Their spirits, of themselves hot enough, yet met with their education under the law, whose first tradition was in fire and thunder, whose precepts were just, but not so merciful; and this inflamed their distemper to the height of a revenge. It is the doctrine of St. Jerome* and Titus Bostrensis,†—the law had been their schoolmaster, and taught them the rules of justice, both punitive and vindictive; but Christ was the first that taught it to be a sin to retaliate evil with evil; it was a doctrine they could not read in the killing letter of the law. There they might meet with precedents of revenge and anger of a high severity, 'an eye for an eye,' and 'a tooth for a tooth,' and 'let him be cut off from his people:' but forgiving injuries, praying for our persecutors, loving our enemies, and relieving them, were doctrines of such high and absolute integrity, as were to be reserved for the best and most perfect lawgiver, the bringer of the best promises, to which the most perfect actions have the best proportion, and this was to be when Shiloh came. Now then the spirit of Elias is out of date,

——— Jam ferrea primum
Desinit, ac toto surgit gens aurea mundo.

and, therefore, our blessed Master reproveth them of ignorance, not of the law, but of his spirit, which had they but known or could but have guessed at the end of his coming, they had not been such *abecedarii* in the school of mercy.

And now we shall not need to look far for persons, disciples professing at least in Christ's school, yet as great strangers to the merciful spirit of our Saviour, as if they had been sons of the law, or foster-brothers to Romulus, and sucked a wolf; and they are Romanists too: this day's solemnity presents them to us, πηλὸς αἵματι πεφυρμένος;‡ and yet were that washed off, underneath they write Christian and Jesuit.

One would have expected that such men, set forth to the

* Epist. ad Algas. † In Lucam.
‡ Sueton. Tib. 57. B. Crus. t. i. p. 454.

world's acceptance with so merciful a *cognomentum*, should have put a hand to support the ruinous fabric of the world's charity, and not have pulled the frame of heaven and earth about our ears. But yet—*Ne credite, Teucri!* Give me leave first to make an inquisition after this antichristian pravity, and try who is of our side, and who loves the king, by pointing at those whose sermons do blast loyalty, breathing forth treason, slaughters, and cruelty, the greatest imaginable, contrary to the spirit and doctrine of our dear Master. So we shall quickly find out more than a pareil for St. James and St. John, the Boanerges of my text.

"It is an act of faith, by faith to conquer the enemies of God and holy church," saith Sanders, our countryman.* Hitherto nothing but well: if James and John had offered to do no more than what they could have done with the 'sword of the Spirit, and the shield of faith,' they might have been inculpable, and so had he if he had said no more; but the blood boils higher, the manner spoils all. "For it is not well done, unless a warlike captain be appointed by Christ's vicar to bear a crusade in a field of blood." And if the other Apostles did not proceed such an angry way as James and John, it was only discretion that detained them, not religion. "For so they might, and it were no way unlawful for them to bear arms to propagate religion, had they not wanted an opportunity," if you believe the same author: "for fighting is proper for St. Peter and his successors, therefore, because Christ gave him commission to feed his lambs."† A strange reason!

I had thought Christ would have his lambs fed with the sincere milk of his word, not like to cannibals,

——— solitisque cruentum
Lac potare Getis, et poeula tingere venis,

to mingle blood in their sacrifices (as Herod to the Galileans), and quaff it off for an *auspicium* to the propagation of the Christian faith. Methinks here is already too much clashing of armor, and effusion of blood, for a Christian cause; but this were not altogether so unchristian-like, if the sheep, though with blood, yet were not to be fed with the blood of their shep-

* Sanderus de Clave David, lib. ii. c. 15. † Ibid. c. 14.

herd Cyrus, I mean their princes. But I find many such *nutritii* in the nurseries of Rome, driving their lambs from their folds, unless they will be taught to worry the lion.

Emmanuel Sà, in his Aphorisms, affirms it lawful to kill a king; indeed not every king, but such a one as rules with tyranny; and not then, unless the pope hath sentenced him to death; but then he may, though he be his lawful prince.* Not the necessitude which the law of nations hath put between prince and people, not the obligation of the oath of allegiance, not the sanctions of God Almighty himself, must reverse the sentence against the king when once passed; but any one of his subjects, of his own sworn subjects, may kill him.

This perfidious treasonable position of Sà is not a single tesmony: for, 1. it slipped not from his pen by inadvertency; it was not made public until after forty years' deliberation, as himself testifies in his preface.† 2. After such an *avisamente*, it is now the ordinary received manual for the fathers confessors of the Jesuits' order.

This doctrine, although *titulo res digna sepulcri*, yet is nothing if compared with Mariana.‡ For 1. he affirms the same doctrine in substance. 2. Then he descends to the very manner of it, ordering how it may be done with the best convenience: he thinks poison to be the best way, but yet that, for the more secrecy, it be cast on the chairs, saddles, and garments of his prince. It was the old laudable custom of the Moors of Spain.§ 3. He adds examples of the business, telling us that this was the device, to wit, by poisoned boots, that old Henry of Castile was cured of his sickness. 4. Lastly, this may be done, not only if the pope judge the king a tyrant (which was the utmost Emmanuel Sà affirmed), but it is sufficient

* Tyrannice gubernans juste acquisitum dominium non potest spoliari sine publico judicio; lata vero sententia, quisque potest fieri executor. Potest autem a populo etiam qui juravit ei obedientiam, si, monitus, non vult corrigi.—Verb. *Tyrannus.*

† Præsertim cum in hoc opus per annos fere quadraginta diligentissime incubuerim.

‡ De Rege et R. Institut. lib. i. c. 6.

§ Qui est l'artifice dont je trouve que les rois Mores ont souvent usé, c. 7.

proof of his being a tyrant if learned men, though but few, and those seditious too, do but murmur it, or begin to call him so.* I hope this doctrine was long since disclaimed by the whole society, and condemned *ad umbras Acheruntícas.* Perhaps so; but yet these men who use to object to us an infinity of divisions among ourselves, who boast so much of their own union and consonancy in judgment, with whom nothing is more ordinary than to maintain some opinions quite throughout their order, (as if they were informed by some common *intellectus agens*) should not be divided in a matter of so great moment, so much concerning the monarchy of the see apostolic, to which they are vowed liegemen. But I have greater reason to believe them united in this doctrine, than is the greatness of this probability. For 1. There was an apology printed in Italy, *permissu superiorum*, in the year 1610, that says, "They were all enemies of that holy name of Jesus, that condemned Mariana for any such doctrine." I understand not why, but sure I am that the Jesuits do, or did think his doctrine innocent: for in their apology put forth in the name of the whole society against the accusations of Anticoton, they deny that the assassin of Henry IV., I mean Ravaillac, was moved to kill the king by reason of Mariana, and are not ashamed to wish that he had read him.† Perhaps they mean it might have wrought the same effect on him, which the sight of a drunkard did on the youth of Lacedæmon; else I am sure it is not very likely he should have been dissuaded from his purpose by reading in Mariana, that it was lawful to do what he intended. 2. I add, they not only thought it innocent, and without positive hurt, but good and commendable; so that it is apparent that it was not the opinion of Mariana alone, but that the Moors of Spain had more disciples than Mariana. 1. He says it himself; for, commending the young monk that killed Henry III., he says that he did it, "having been informed by several divines, that a tyrant might lawfully be killed."‡ 2. The thing itself speaks

* Postquam a paucis seditiosis, sed doctis, cœperit tyrannus appellari.

† Quodammodo optandum esse ut ille Alastor Marianam legisset.

‡ Cum cognovit a theologis quos erat sciscitatus, tyrannum jure interimi posse. Cap. 6.

it, for his book was highly commended by Gretser* and Bonarscius,† both for style and matter;—higher yet by Petrus de Onna, provincial of Toledo, who was so highly pleased with it, he was sorry he wanted leisure‡ to read it the second and third time over, and, with this censure prefixed, was licensed to the press. Farther yet; for Stephen Hoyeda, visitor of the Jesuits for the same province, approved it not only from his own judgment, but as being before approved by grave and learned men of the Jesuits' order;§ and so with a special commission from Claudius Aquaviva, their general, with these approbations, and other solemn privileges, it was printed at Toledo‖ and Mentz,¶ and, lastly, inserted into the catalogues of the books of their order by Petrus Ribadineira.

What negligence is sufficient that such a doctrine as this should pass so great supervisors, if in their hearts they disavow it? The children of this world are not such fools in their generations. The fathers of the society cannot but know, how apt these things of themselves are to public mischief, how invidious to the Christian world, how scandalous to their order; and yet they rather excuse, than condemn, Mariana: speaking of him, at the hardest, but very gently, as if his only fault had been his speaking a truth *in tempore non opportuno*, "something out of season;" or as if they were forced to yield to the current of the times, and durst not profess openly of what, in their hearts, they were persuaded. I speak of some of them, for others, you see, are of the same opinion. But I would fain learn why they are so sedulous and careful to procure the decrees of the rector and deputies of Paris, rescripts of the bishop, revocation of arrest of the parliament which had been against them, and all to acquit the fathers of the society from these scandalous opinions; as if these laborious devices could make what they have said and done, to be unspoken and undone, or could change their opinions from what indeed they are; whereas they

* Chauvesouris, Polit. † Amphith. Honoris, lib. i. c. 12.

‡ Iterum et tertio facturus, si per otium et tempus licuisset.

§ Ut approbatos prius a viris doctis et gravibus ex eodem nostro ordine.

‖ By Petrus Rhodriques, 1599. ¶ By Balth. Lippius, 1605.

never went *ex animo* to refuse these theorems, never spake against them in the real and serious dialect of an adversary, never condemned them as heretical: but what they have done they have been ashamed to, or forced on, as Père Coton by the king of France, and Servin to a confutation of Mariana, from which he desired to be excused, and, after the king's death, wrote his declaratory letter to no purpose; the apologists of Paris, by the outcries of Christendom against them; and when it is done, done so coldly in their reprehensions with a greater readiness to excuse all, than condemn any. I say, these things, to a considering man, do increase the suspicion, if at least that may be called suspicion, for which we have had so plain testimonies of their own.

I add this more, to put the business past all question; that when some things of this nature were objected to them by Arnald, the French king's advocate, they were so far from denying them, or excusing them, that they maintained them in spite of opposition, putting forth a book, entitled, *Veritas defensa contra actionem Antonii Arnaldi.* What the things were, for which they stood up patrons, hear themselves speaking:* *Tum enim id non solum potest papa, sed etiam debet, se ostendere superiorem illis principibus. Exceptio hæc stomachum tibi commovet, facit ut ringaris, sed oportet haurias, et de cætero fatearis tibi nec rationem esse nec conscientiam.* Hard words these! The advocate is affirmed to be void both of reason and honesty, for denying the pope's dominion over kings. The reason follows, "The pope could not keep them to their duties, unless he kept them in awe with threatening them the loss of their kingdoms." But this is but the least part of it. They add, "If the subjects had been but disposed as they should have been, there was no time but it might have been profitable to have exercised the sword on the persons of kings."† Let them construe their meaning, those are their words. But see further.

The damned act of Jacques Clement, the monk, on the life of Henry III. of France, of Jean Chastel and Ravaillac

* Page 7, 1st edit. † Page 67, 1st edit.

on Henry IV., are notorious in the Christian world; and yet the first of these was commended by F. Guignard,* in a discourse of purpose, and by Mariana, as I before cited him. The second had two apologies made for him, the one by Constantius Veruna,† the other,‡ without a name indeed, but with the mark and cognisance of the Jesuits' order; and the last was publicly commended in a sermon, by a monk of Cologne, as it is reported by the excellent Thuanus.

Not much less than this is that of Baronius, just, I am sure, of the same spirit with James and John; for he calls for a ruin on the Venetians, for opposing of his holiness. "Arise, Peter, not to feed these wandering sheep, but to destroy them; throw away the pastoral staff, and take thy sword." I confess here is some more ingenuity to oppose murdering to feeding, than to make them all one, as Sanders § doth; but yet the same fiery spirit inflames them both, as if all Rome were on fire, and would put the world in combustion.

Farther yet. Guignard, a Jesuit of Clerimont college in Paris, was executed, by the command of the parliament, || for some conclusions he had written, which were of a high nature treasonable; and yet, as if either there were an infallibility in every person of the society, or as if the parliament had done injustice in condemning Guignard, or, lastly, as if they approved his doctrine, he was apologised for by Lewes Richeome,¶ and Bonarscius.** I know they will not say, that every Jesuit is infallible, they are not come to that yet; it is plain, then, they are of the same mind with Guignard, or else (which I think they dare not say) the parliament was unjust in the condemnation of him; but if they do, they thus proclaim their approbation of these doctrines he was hanged for; for that he had such, was under his own hand, by his own confession, and of

* Voyez le Procès du Parlem. de Paris contre le père Guignard, prêtre Jésuite.

† Vid. cap. 3. ‡ Lugduni, de justa abdicatione Hen. III. 1610.

§ De clave David, c. 14. Vid. pag. 7.

|| Arret de Parliam. 7 de Janv. 1595.

¶ Expostul. Apologet. pro Societ. Jes.

** Amphith. Honor. lib. i.

itself evident, as is to be seen in the arrest of the parliament against him.

Lastly, more pertinent to the day is the fact of Garnet,—who, because a Jesuit, could have done nothing for which he should not have found an apologist; for even for this his last act of high treason he was apologised for by Bellarmine,* Gretser,† and Eudæmon Johannes.‡

Thus far we have found out persons fit enough to match any malice; Boanerges all, and more than a pareil for James and John: but I shall anon discover the disease to be more epidemical, and the pest of a more catholic infection; and yet, if we sum up our accounts, we shall already find the doctrine to be too catholic. For we have already met with Emmanuel Sà, a Portuguese; Mariana and Ribadineira, Spaniards; Bonarscius, a bas Almain; Gretser, a German; Eudæmon Johannes, a false Greek; Guignard, Richeome, and the apologists for Chastel, Frenchmen; Bellarmine and Baronius, Italians; Garnet and Sanders, English.

The doctrine, you see, they would fain make catholic; now, if it prove to be but apostolic too, then we have found out an exact parallel for James and John, great disciples and Apostles; and whether or no the see apostolic may not sometime be of a fiery and consuming spirit, we have so strange examples, even in our own home, that we need seek no farther for resolution of the *quære*. In the bull of excommunication put forth by Pius Quintus, against queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, there is more than a naked encouragement: as much as comes to a *Volumus et jubemus ut adversus Elizabetham, Angliæ reginam, subditi arma capessant.—Bone Jesu! in quæ nos reservasti tempora?* Here is a command to turn rebels, a necessity of being traitors. *Quid eo infelicius, cui jam esse malum necesse est?*

The business is put something farther home by Catena and Gabutius, who wrote the life of Pius Quintus, were resident at Rome, one of them an advocate in the Roman court; their books both printed at Rome, *con licenza* and *con privilegio*.§

* Apol. adv. R. Angliæ.

† Stigm. Miseric.

‡ Apol. pro Garnetto.

§ 1588, et 1605.

And now hear their testimonies of the whole business between the queen and his holiness.

"Pius Quintus published a bull against queen Elizabeth, declared her a heretic, and deprived her of her kingdom, absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, excommunicated her, and gave power to any one to rebel against her,"* &c. This was but the first step; he, therefore, thus proceeds: "He procures a gentleman of Florence, to move her subjects to a rebellion against her for her destruction."† Farther yet; he thought that this would be such a real benefit to Christendom to have her "destroyed, that the pope was ready to aid in person, to spend the whole revenue of the see apostolic, all the chalices and crosses of the church, and even his very clothes, to promote so pious a business as was the destruction of queen Elizabeth."‡

The witnesses of truth usually agree in one. The same story is told by Antonius Gabutius,§ and some more circumstances added. First, he names the end of the pope's design; it was, "to take her life away, in case she would not turn Roman catholic."—"To achieve this, because no legate could come into England, nor any public messenger from the see apostolic, he employed a Florentine merchant to stir her subjects to a rebellion for her perdition."‖ Nothing but *sollevamento*, "rebellion," perdition, and destruction to the queen could be thought on by his holiness.

More yet; for when the duke of Alva had seized on the English merchants' goods which were at Antwerp, the pope took the occasion, instigated the king of Spain to aid "the pious attempts of those who conspired against the queen;" they

* Pio publicò una bolla e sentezza contra Elisabetta, dichiarandola heretica, e priva del regno, . . in tal forma concedendo, che ciascuno andar contra le potesse, &c. Girolamo Catena, p. 114.

† Il quale . . . . muovesse gli animi al sollevamento per distruttione d'Elisabetta, p. 113.

‡ L'andare in persona, impegna e tutte le sostanze della sede apostolica, e calici, e i proprj vestimenti, p. 117.

§ De Vita et Gestis Pii V., lib. iii. c. 9.

‖ Qui incolarum animos ad Elizabethæ perditionem, rebellione facta, commoveret.

are the words of Cabutius.* This rebellion was intended to be under the conduct of the duke of Norfolk, *viro catholico*, "a Roman catholic;" Gabutius notes it, for fear some heretic might be suspected of the design, and so the catholics lose the glory of the action. However, Pius Quintus "intended to use the utmost and most extreme remedies to cure her heresy, and all means to increase and strengthen the rebellion." I durst not have thought so much of his holiness, if his own had not said it; but if this be not worse than the fiery spirit which our blessed Saviour reproved in James and John, I know not what is.

I have nothing to do to specify the spirit of Paulus Quintus in the Venetian cause; this only, Baronius propounded the example of Gregory VII.† to him, of which how far short he came, the world is witness. Our own business calls to mind the bulls of pope Clement VIII., in which the catholics in England were commanded to see, that however the right of succession did entitle any man to the crown of England, yet, if he were not a catholic, they should have none of him, but with all their power they should hinder his coming in. This bull Bellarmine‡ doth extremely magnify; and, indeed, it was for his purpose, for it was, if not author, yet the main encourager of Catesby to the powder treason: for, when Garnet would willingly have known the pope's mind in the business, Catesby eased him of the trouble of sending to Rome, since the pope's mind was clear. "I doubt not," said Catesby, "at all of the pope's mind, but that he, who commanded our endeavors to hinder his coming in, is willing enough we should throw him out."§ It was but a reasonable collection.

I shall not need to instance in the effects which this bull produced: the treason of Watson and Cleark, two English seminaries, is sufficiently known; it was as a *præludium* or warning-piece to the great *fougade*, the discharge of the powder treason. Briefly, the case was so, that after the pub-

* Efflagitabat ab rege, ut Anglorum in Elizabetham pie conspirantium studia foveret.

† Hildebrand. ‡ Apol. adv. R. Angl.

§ Proceed. agt. Traytors.

lication of the bull of Pius Quintus, these catholics in England durst not be good subjects till F. Parsons and Campian got a dispensation that they might for awhile do it, and, *rebus sic stantibus*, with a safe conscience profess a general obedience in causes temporal: and, after the bull of Clement, a great many of them were not good subjects; and, if the rest had not taken to themselves the privilege which the pope* sometimes gave to the archbishop of Ravenna, "either to do as the pope bid them, or to pretend a reason why they would not;" we may say, as Creswell, in defence of cardinal Allen, "Certainly we might have had more bloody tragedies in England, if the moderation of some more discreetly tempered had not been interposed."† However, it is no thank to his holiness; his spirit blew high enough.

But I will open this secret no farther, if I may have but leave to instance once more. If I mistake not, it was Sixtus Quintus who sometimes pronounced a speech in full consistory,‡ in which he compares the assassinat of Jacques Clement on Henry III. to the exploits of Eleazar and Judith; where, after having aggravated the faults of the murdered king, concluded him to have died impenitent, denied him the solemnities of mass, dirge, and requiem for his soul, at last, he ends with a prayer, "that God would finish, what in this (bloody) manner had been begun." I will not aggravate the foulness of the thing by any circumstances, though I cannot but wonder that his holiness should say a prayer of so much abomination; it is of itself too bad.

If his holiness be wronged in the business, I have no hand in it: the speech was printed at Paris,§ three months after the murder of the king, and avouched for authentic by the approbation of three doctors, Boucher, Decreil, and Ancelein; let them answer it: I wash my hands of the accusation, and only consider the danger of such doctrines, if set forth with so great authority, and practised by so uncontrollable persons.

If the disciples of Christ, if Apostles, if the see apostolic, if

* Innoc. Decretal. de Rescript. cap. Si quando.

† Philop. p. 212, n. 306. ‡ Sep. 11, 1589.

§ By Nichol. Nivelle, and Rollin Thierry.

the fathers confessors, prove *boutefeus* and incendiaries, I'll no more wonder if the people call for fire to consume us, but rather wonder if they do not. And indeed, although it be no rare or unusual thing for a papist to be *de facto* loyal and duteous to his prince, yet it is a wonder that he is so, since such doctrines have been taught by so great masters; and at the best he depends but on the pope's pleasure for his loyalty, which on what security it rests, you may easily guess from the antecedents.

Thus much for consideration of the persons who asked the question; they were Christ's disciples, they were James and John.

II. But when James and John 'saw this.' Our next inquiry shall be of the cause of this their angry question. This we must learn from the foregoing story. Christ was going to the feast at Jerusalem, and, passing through a village of Samaria, asked lodging for a night;* but they, perceiving that he was a Jew, would by no means entertain him, as being of a different religion: for although God appointed that all of the seed of Jacob should go up to Jerusalem to worship, *ἀνῃρέθη γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ προσκύνησις*,† yet the tribes of the separation, first under Jeroboam, worshipped in groves and high places; and after the captivity, being a mixed people, half Jew, half Gentile, procured a temple to be built them by Sanballat, their president,‡ near the city Sichem, on the mountain Gerizim, styling themselves *pertinentes ad montem benedictum*,§ by allusion to the words of God by Moses, 'they shall stand on the mount Gerizim to bless the people, and these on mount Ebal to curse.' And in case arguments should fail to make this schism plausible, they will make it good by turning their adversaries out of doors: they shall not come near their blessed mount of Gerizim, but fastening an anathema on them, let them go to Ebal, and curse there. And now I wonder not that these disciples were very angry at them, who had lost the true religion, and neglected the offices of humanity to them that kept it. They might go near now to make it a cause of religion; *σεμνότερον*

* ver. 50. † Chrysost. in hunc locum.

‡ Josephi Antiq. lib. xi. c. 6.

§ Postellus de Linguis, Deut. xii. 27.

ὄνομα τῆς εὐσεβείας, as Nazianzen speaks,* might seem to apologise for them; and so it might, if it had not led them to indiscreet and uncharitable zeal. But men care not how far they go, if they do but once think they can make God a party of their quarrel. For when religion, which ought to be the antidote of our malice, proves its greatest incentive, our uncharitableness must needs run faster to a mischief, by how much that which stopped its course before, drives it on with the greater violence. And, therefore, as it is ordinary for charity to be called coldness in religion, so it is as ordinary for a pretence of religion to make cold charity.

The present case of the disciples, and the same spirit, which, for the same pretended cause, is taken up by the persons of the day, proves all this true; with whom fire and fagot is esteemed the best argument to convince the understanding; and the inquisitors of heretical pravity, the best doctors and subtlest disputants, determining all with a *viris ignem, fossam mulieribus.*† For thus we had like to have suffered: it was mistaken religion that moved these traitors to so damnable a conspiracy; not for any defence of their own cause, but for extirpation of ours. For else what grievances did they groan under? *In quos eorum populum exæstuantem sollicitavimus? quibus vitæ periculum attulimus?* it was Nazianzen's question to the apostate.‡ Give me leave to consider it as applicable to our present case, and try if I can make a just discovery of the cause that moved these traitors to so accursed a conspiracy.

1. Then there was no cause at all given them by us; none put to death for being a Roman catholic, nor any of them punished for his religion.

This hath been the constant attestation of our princes and state, since the first laws made against recusants; and the thing itself will bear them record.§

From *primo* of Elizabeth to *undecimo,* the papists made

* Orat. 12. † Decret. Carol. Quinti, pro Flandris.

‡ Orat. 2. in Julian.

§ Vid. L. Burleigh's book called "Execution for Treason, not Religion;" King James's Declaration to all Christian Kings and Princes; and the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech in Star-chamber in Burton's case.

no scruple of coming to our churches: recusancy was not then so much as a chrisom, not an embryo: but when Pius Quintus sent forth his briefs of excommunication and deposition of the queen, then first they forbore to pray with us, or to have any religious communion. This, although every where known, yet being a matter of fact, and so as likely to be denied by others as affirmed by us, without good evidence, see it therefore affirmed expressly by an act of parliament in *decimo-tertio* of Elizabeth, which specifies this as one inconvenience and ill consequence of the bull; "whereby hath grown great disobedience and boldness in many, not only to withdraw and absent themselves from divine service, now most godly set forth, and used within this realm, but also have thought themselves discharged of all obedience," &c. Not only recusancy, but likewise disobedience; therefore both recusancy and disobedience.

Two years, therefore, after this bull, this statute was made, if it was possible, to nullify the effects of it, to hinder its execution, and, if it might be, by this means to keep them, as they had been before, in communion with the church of England, and obedience to her majesty. This was the first statute that concerned them in special, but yet their religion was not meddled with; for this statute against execution of the pope's bulls was no more than what had been established by act of parliament in the sixteenth year of Richard II., by which it was made *præmunire* to purchase bulls from Rome; and the delinquents in this kind, with all their "abettors, fautors, procurators, and maintainers, to be referred to the king's council for farther punishment." There was indeed this severity expressed in the act in *decimo-tertio* of the queen, that the putting them in execution should be capital; and yet this severity was no more than what was inflicted on the bishop of Ely, in Edward III.'s time, for publishing of a bull against the earl of Chester, without the king's leave; and on the bishop of Carlisle, in the time of Henry IV., for the like offence. Thus far our laws are innocent.

But when this statute did not take the good effect for which it was intended, neither keeping them in their ancient communion nor obedience, but for all this, Mayne, Campian, and many

others, came as the pope's emissaries for execution of the bull, the state proceeded to a farther severity, making laws against recusancy, against seditious and traitorous books, and against the residence of Romish priests in England; making the first finable with a pecuniary mulct, the two latter capital, as being made of a treasonable nature. Of these in order:

1. The mulct which was imposed for recusancy, was not soul money, or paid for religion; and that for these reasons: 1. because it is plain, religion did not make them absent themselves from our churches, unless they had changed their religion since the bull came over: for if religion could consist with their communion with us before the bull, as it is plain it did, then why not after the bull? unless it be part of their religion to obey the pope, rather than to obey God commanding us to obey our prince. 2. Their recusancy was an apparent mischief to our kingdom, and it was the prevention or diversion of this that was the only or special end of these laws.

The mischief is apparent these two ways: 1. because by their recusancy they gave attestation that they held the bull to be valid; for else why should they, after the bull, deny their communion, which, before, they did not? Either they must think the queen, for a just cause, and by a just power, excommunicate; or why did they separate from her communion? Now if the queen, by virtue of the bull, was excommunicate, why should they stop here? She was by the same deposed, they absolved from all allegiance to her, and commanded to take arms against her. I confess it is no good argument of itself to say, the pope might excommunicate the queen, therefore depose her from her kingdom: but this concludes with them sufficiently, with whom excommunication not only drives from spirituals, but deprives of temporals; and is not to mend our lives, but to take them away. I speak how it is in the case of princes, and I shall anon prove it; for they, being public persons from whose deposition much may be gotten, are like to suffer more. *Ut extunc ipse (pontifex) vassallos ab ejus fidelitate denuntiet absolutos, et terram exponat catholicis occupandam;* as they are taught by pope Innocent III., in the eighth Lateran council. Such is their excommunication

for matter of heresy, as was this pretended in the queen's case; so that, in respect of them, the danger was apparent.

2. It is plain that recusancy and disobedience came actually hand in hand: I say not that one was the issue of the other, but that they were coetaneous; for the same persons that moved them to recusancy by virtue of the bull, moved them to the execution of it *per omnia.* Now see whither this would tend. They by recusancy were better able to judge of their forces in England, and what party they were able to make for execution of the bull; whilst by that, as by a discriminative cognisance, they were pointed at as abettors of the catholic cause.

Thus far they suffered not for their religion or conscience, unless it were against their conscience to be good subjects; and then it was not religion, at least not Christian, that was inconsistent with their loyalty; and so hitherto, in respect of us, their machination was altogether causeless.

2. For the second,—I mean the writing and publishing of seditious and traitorous books; I shall not need to say any thing in defence of its being made capital, though sometimes they accuse our laws for it; for they were ever so, and of a high nature treasouable; and the publishers of them, by the canons of the church, were *ipso facto* excommunicate.* This I noted, because the same censure involves more, by virtue of the same canon: I mean not only the seditious libellers, but impugners of the king's regalities; as also the bringers, publishers, and executioners of the bull; as is to be seen in the coustitution of archbishop Stephen, in a council held at Oxford. But, secondly, whether they were or were not, it matters nothing: this I suppose was no part of their religion; therefore this might be made treason, and yet their religion and peace of conscience undisturbed.

3. But the next is the main outcry of all, the very *conclamatum est* of the catholic cause, if suffered: it was made treason to be a priest; or at least, if any of their priests should be

* Apud Linwood de Senten. Excommunicat.—Item omnes illos excommunicationis innodamus sententia, qui pacem et tranquillitatem domini regis et regni injuriose perturbare præsumunt, et qui jura domini regis injuste detinere contendunt.

found in England, he should be adjudged a traitor; and these laws were not yet repealed, but then in execution.

When certain sycophants told Philip of Macedon, that some of his discontented subjects called him tyrant, his answer was, *Rudes sunt Macedones, et scapham vocant scapham.* I wish these men who object this, had the same ingenuity, and would acknowlege that the rudeness of a Macedonian tell-truth is no apparent calumny: and truly, as the case then stood, it was no worse. For consider that the statute against priests was not made till sixteen years after the bull of Pius V., and after much evidence, both by the confession of some priests themselves, and divers lay persons, that at least many of them came into England with this errand, that they might instigate the queen's liege people to the execution of it. This is very plain in the case of Mayne the Jesuit, and M. Tregion, who were executed at Launceston for the same business.*

The state could not certainly know what would be the issue, but yet could not but think it likely to produce more and worse consequences for the future. *Ideo leges in facta constitui, quia futura in incerto sint.*† The queen then, providing for her safety, banished these priests out of her dominions. This was all; and this done with so much lenity and moderation, as if of purpose to render good for their evil, such was her innocence; —and yet to provide for her safety, such was her prudence. She gave them forty days' time of preparation for their journey; imposed no penalty for their longer stay, in case that any of them were less healthful, or that the winds were cross, or that the weather served not, provided that, during their stay, they gave security for their due obedience to her laws, and that they should attempt nothing against her person or government, for this was all she aimed at; but if they obeyed not the proscription, having no just cause to the contrary, such as were expressed in the act, then it should be adjudged their errand was not right, and therefore, not their religion, but their disobedience, treasonable.

This was the highest ἀκμὴ of the severity of this state against them. Now, first, I shall briefly show, that this proscription, which was the highest penalty, was for just cause, as the case

* 1577. † Tacitus, Annal. lib. iii. c. 69. Rupert, p. 172.

then stood, and deserved on their part. 2. It was but reasonable, in case they obeyed not the proscription, their stay should be made treason:—1. because the priests did generally preach the pope's power, either directly over temporals, or else in order to spirituals,—of which the pope being judge, it would come to the same issue; and this was dangerous to the peace of the kingdom, and entrenched too much on the regalty. In particular, the case of bringing from the see of Rome, and publishing of bulls, was, by the lords of the parliament, in the sixteenth year of Richard the Second, judged to be "clearly in derogation of the king's crown and of his regalty, as it is well known, and hath been of a long time known;" and, therefore, they protested "together and every one severally by himself, that they would be with the same crown and regalty, in these cases specially, and in all other cases which shall be attempted against the same crown and regalty, in all points, with all their power." I hope then if the state, in the time of queen Elizabeth, having far greater reason than ever, shall judge that these bulls, the publishing of them, the preaching of their validity, and reconciling, by virtue of them, her subjects to the see of Rome, be derogatory to her crown and regalty,—I see no reason she should be frighted from her just defence with the bugbear of pretended religion; for if it was not against religion then, why is it now? I confess there is a reason for it, to wit, because now the pope's power is an article of faith, as I shall show anon, but then it was not with them, any more than now it is with us: but whether this will convince any man of reason, I leave it to himself to consider.

But one thing is observable in that act of parliament of Richard the Second; I mean this clause, "As it is well known, and hath been of a long time known." The pope's encroachments on the state of England had been an old sore, and by its eld, almost habituate; but yet it grieved them nevertheless, nor was the less a fever for being hectical: but so it is, that I am confident on very good grounds, it may be made as apparent as the noon sun, for these six hundred years and upwards, that the bishops of Rome have exercised so extreme and continual tyranny and exactions in this kingdom, that our condition was under him worse than the state of the Athenians under their

thirty tyrants, or than our neighbors are now under their Belgic tributes. So many grievances of the people, expilations of the church, abuses to the state, entrenchments on the royalties of the crown, were continued, that it was a great blessing of Almighty God, our kingdom was delivered from them on so easy terms, which Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, thought would never be done, but in *ore gladii cruentandi:* and now to have all these mischiefs return with more strength on us, by the attempts of these priests, had been the highest point of indiscretion and sleepiness. I said, with more strength,—because what anciently at the highest was thought but a privilege of the church, began now to be an article of faith; and, therefore, if admitted, would have bound stronger and without all possibility of redress.

And now, if, after all this, any man should doubt of the justice of these laws against the priests obtruding on the state the pope's power, I only refer him to the parliament of Paris, where let him hold his plea against those great sages of the law, for their just censures on Florentinus Jacobus, Thomas Blanzius,* and John Tanquerell, who were all condemned to a solemn honorary penance and satisfaction to the state, and not without extreme difficulty escaped death, for the same cause: but this is not all. I add,

Secondly; the pope had his agent in England, to stir up the subjects to rebel against the queen, as I proved before by the testimonies of Catena and Gabutius. It is not then imaginable that he should so poorly intend his own designs, to employ one on purpose, and he but a merchant; and that the priests, who were the men, if any, most likely to do the business, should be unemployed. I speak not of the argument from matter of fact, for it is apparent that they were employed, as I showed but now; but it is plain also that they must have been employed, if we had had no other argument but a presumption of the pope's ordinary discretion. Things then remaining in this condition, what security could the queen or state have, without the absence of those men who must be the instruments of their mischief?

* 1561.

Thirdly, there was great reason those men might be banished, who might from their own principles plead immunity from all laws, and subordination to the prince. But that so these priests might, I only bring two witnesses, leading men of their own side. Thus Bellarmine:* "The pope hath exempted all clerks from subjection to princes." The same is taught by Emmanuel Sà in his Aphorisms, *verbo Clericus.* I must not dissemble that this aphorism, however it passed the press at first, yet in the edition of Paris it was left out. The cause is known to every man: for that it was merely to serve their ends is apparent; for their French freedom was there taken from them; they durst not *parler tout* so near the parliament; but the aphorism is to this day retained in the editions of Antwerp and Cologne.

If this be their doctrine, as it is plain it is taught by these leading authors, I mean Sà and Bellarmine,—I know no reason but it may be very just, and most convenient, to deny those men the country from whose laws they plead exemption.

Secondly, it was but reasonable, in case they obeyed not the proscription, their disobedience should be made capital. For if they did not obey, then either they sinned against their conscience, in disobeying their lawful prince, and so are αὐτοκατάκριτοι, and inexcusable from the law's penalty, which may be extended at the pleasure of the lawgiver, where there is no positive injustice in the disproportion; or if they did not sin against their conscience, then of necessity must they think her to be no lawful prince, or not their lawful prince, nor they her subjects, and so *ipso facto* are guilty of high treason, and their execution was for "treason, not religion;" and so the principle is evicted which I shall beg leave to express in St. Cyprian's language, *Non erat illa fidei corona, sed pœna perfidiæ; nec religiosæ virtutis exitus gloriosus, sed desperationis interitus.*†

For if Valentius banish Eusebius from Samosata, and Eusebius obey not the edict, if Valentius puts him to death, it is not for his being a Christian that he suffers death, but for staying at Samosata, against the command of Valentius.‡ Such was

* Lib. i. c. 28. De Clericis.

† De Simplic. Prælat.

‡ Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 14.

the case of the priests, whom, for just cause, as I have proved, and too apparent proof of seditious practices, the queen banished. Now if the queen was their lawful sovereign, then were they bound to obey her decree of exile, though it had been unjust as was the case of Eusebius; or if they did not obey, not to think the laws unjust for punishing their disobedience. I say again, their disobedience, not their religion: for that it was not their religion that was struck at by the justice of these laws, but the security of the queen and state only aimed at,—besides what I have already said, is apparent to the evidence of sense. For when Hart and Bosgrave, Jesuits both, came into England against the law, they were apprehended and imprisoned; for the laws without just execution were of no force for the queen's safety: but when these men had acknowleged the queen's legitimate power, and put in their security for their due obedience, they obtained their pardon and their liberty. The same proceedings were in the case of Horton and Rishton, all which I hope were not apostates from their order of religion; but so they must have been, or not have escaped death, in case that their religion had been made capital. Lastly, this statute extended only to such priests who were made priests since *primo* of Elizabeth, and were born in England. It was not treason for a French priest to be in England; but yet so it must have been, if religion had been the thing they aimed at. But it is so foul a calumny, I am ashamed to stand longer to refute it. The proceedings of the church and state of England were just, honorable, and religious, full of mercy and discretion; and unless it were that as C. Fimbria complained of Q. Scævola, we did not open our breasts wide enough to receive the danger, there is no cause imaginable, I mean on our parts, to move them to so damned a conspiracy, or indeed to any just complaint.

Secondly, if these were not the causes (as they would fain abuse the world into a persuasion that they were), what was? I shall tell you, if you will give me leave *ἄνωθεν τὴν πηγὴν διορύττειν*, "to derive it from its very head;" and then I will leave it to you to judge, whether or no my augury fails me.

First, I guess that the traitors were encouraged and primarily moved to this treason, from the prevailing opinion which is most

generally received, on that side, of the lawfulness of deposing princes that are heretical: I say, generally received, and I shall make my words good, or else the blame shall lay on themselves for deceiving me, when they declare their own minds. I instance, first, in the fathers of the society. Bellarmine teacheth that kings "have no wrong done them, if they be deprived of their kingdoms, when they prove heretics."* Creswell, in his Philopater, goes farther, saying, "that if his heresy be manifest, he is deposed without any explicit judicial sentence of the pope: the law itself hath passed the sentence of deposition."† And, therefore,

Bonarscius is very angry at Arnald,‡ the French king's advocate, for affirming that religion could be no just cause to depose a lawful prince; if he had been brought up in their schools, he might have learned another lesson: *papa potest mutare regna, et uni auferre atque alteri conferre, tanquam summus princeps spiritualis, si id necessarium sit ad animarum salutem*, saith Bellarmine.§ He gives his reason too, *Quia alioqui possent mali principes impune fovere hæreticos;*‖ which is a thing not to be suffered by his holiness.

This doctrine is not the private opinion of these doctors, but *est certa, definita, atque indubitata virorum clarissimorum sententia*, saith F. Creswell,¶ I suppose he means in his own order; and yet I must take heed what I say, for Eudæmon Johannes** is very angry with Sir Edward Cooke, for saying it is the doctrine of the Jesuits. Do they then deny it? No surely, but *Non est Jesuitarum propria*, it is not theirs alone; *sed, ut Garnettus respondit, totius ecclesiæ, et quidem ab antiquissimis temporibus consensione recepta doctrina nostra est;* and there he reckons up seven and twenty famous authors of the same

* Nec ulla eis injuria fiet, si deponantur. Lib. v. de Rom. Pontif. c. 7.

† Ex ipsa vi juris, et ante omnem sententiam supremi pastoris ac judicis contra ipsum prolatam. Lugduni, impres. 1593. p. 106. n. 157. Amphith. Honor. p. 117.

‡ Sed heus, Arnalde, a cujus institutione hausisti nullam posse intercidere causam, quæ regem cogat abire regno? Non religionis.

§ Bellar. de Pont. R. lib. v. c. 6. ‖ Cap. 7.

¶ Ubi supra, p. 107. ** Apol. pro Garnet. c. 3.

opinion. Creswell, in his Philopater,* says as much, if not more: *Hinc etiam infert universa theologorum et jurisconsultorum ecclesiasticorum schola, et est certum, et de fide, quemcunque principem Christianum, si a religione catholica manifeste deflexerit, et alios avocare voluerit, excidere statim omni potestate ac dignitate, ex ipsa vi juris, tum humani, tum divini.* You see how easily they swallow this great camel. Add to this, that Bellarmine† himself proves, that the pope's temporal power, or of disposing of princes' kingdoms, is a catholic doctrine; for he reckons up of this opinion, one and twenty Italians, fourteen French, nine Germans, seven English and Scotch, nineteen Spaniards; and these not *e fæce plebis*, but *e primoribus*, all very famous and very leading authors.

You see it is good divinity amongst them, and I have made it good, that it is a general opinion, received by all their side, if you will believe themselves; and now let us see if it will pass for good law, as well as good divinity.

It is not for nothing that the church of France protests against some of their received canons; if they did not, I know not what would become of their princes. Their lilies may be to-day, and to-morrow be cast into the oven, if the pope either call their prince "Huguenot," as he did Henry IV.; or "Tyrant," as Henry III.; or "unprofitable for the church or kingdom," as he did king Childeric, whom pope Zachary, *de facto*, did depose for the same cause, and inserted his act into the body of the law as a precedent for the future, *Quod etiam ex auctoritate frequenti agit sancta ecclesia;* it is impaled in a parenthesis in the body of the canon,‡ lest deposition of princes should be taken for news. The law is clear for matter of fact; the lawfulness follows.

Hæreticis licitum est auferri quæ habent; § and this not only from a private man, but even from princes: *Nam qui in majore dignitate est, plus punitur;* or take it, if you please, in more proper terms. *Dominus papa principem secularem deponere potest propter hæresim;*‖ and so another may be chosen, like the Palatines and Castellans in Poland, just as if the king

* Num. 157. † Contra Barclaium in princip. fere.
‡ Can. Al. Caus. 15. q. 6. § Cl. 1. in Summa 23. q. 7.
‖ Gl. cap. Excommunicamus, tit. de hæreticis, lib. v.

were dead: *Nam per hæresim plusquam civiliter mortuus censetur*, saith Simancha,* and that, by virtue of a constitution of Gregory IX., by which every man is freed from all duty, homage, allegiance, or subordination whatsoever due to a heretic, whether due by a natural, civil, or political right; *aliquo pacto, aut quacunque firmitate vallatum. Et sic nota*, saith the gloss, *quod papa potest absolvere laicum de juramento fidelitatis.*

I end those things with the attestation of Bellarmine,† *Est res certa et explorata, posse pontificem maximum justis de causis temporalibus judicare, atque ipsos temporales principes aliquando deponere.* And again, that we may be sure to know of what nature this doctrine is, he repeats it; *Sic igitur de potestate in temporalibus, quod ea sit in papa, non opinio, sed certitudo apud catholicos est.* And now let any man say, if this be not a catholic doctrine, and a likely antecedent to have treason to be its consequent.

But I fix not here, only this, it is plain that this proposition is no friend to loyalty; but that which follows is absolutely inconsistent with it, in case our prince be of a different persuasion in matters of religion. For,

2. It is not only lawful to depose princes that are heretical, but it is necessary, and the catholics are bound to do it *sub mortali.* I know not whether it be so generally: I am sure it is as confidently taught as the former, and by as great doctors.

Ecclesia nimis graviter erraret, si admitteret aliquem regem, qui vellet impune fovere quamlibet sectam, et defendere hæreticos: so Bellarmine.‡ And again,§ *Non licet Christianis tolerare regem hæreticum, si conetur pertrahere subditos ad suam hæresim.* But F. Creswell ‖ puts the business home to purpose, *Certe non tantum licet, sed summa etiam juris divini necessitate ac præcepto, imo conscientiæ vinculo arctissimo, et extremo animarum suarum periculo ac discrimine, Christianis omnibus hoc ipsum incumbit, si præstare rem possint.* Under peril of their souls they must not suffer an heretical prince to

* Cap. 45. de Pœnit. † Contra Barclaium, cap. 3.
‡ Lib. v. de Rom. Pont. c. 7. § Ibid.
‖ Philopat. p. 110. n. 162.

reign over them. *Possunt, et debent cum arcere ex hominum Christianorum dominatu, ne alios inficiat,** &c.

3. He that saith subjects "may, and are bound to depose their princes, and to drive them from all rule over Christians, if they be able," means something more: for what if the prince resist? still he is bound to depose him if he be able. How if the prince make a war? the catholic subject must do his duty nevertheless, and war too, if he be able. He that says he may wage a war with his prince, I doubt not but thinks he may kill him; and if the fortune of the war lights so on him, the subject cannot be blamed for doing of his duty.

It is plain that killing a prince is a certain consequent of deposing him, unless the prince be bound in conscience to think himself a heretic when the pope declares him so, and be likewise bound not to resist; and besides all this, will perform these his obligations, and as certainly think himself heretical, and as really give over his kingdom quietly, as he is bound. For in case any of these should fail, there can be but very slender assurance of his life. I would be loath to obtrude on men the odious consequences of their opinions, or to make any thing worse which is capable of a fairer construction; but I crave pardon in this particular; the life of princes is sacred, and is not to be violated so much as in thought, or by the most remote consequence of a public doctrine: but here indeed it is so immediate and natural a consequent of the former, that it must not be dissembled. But what shall we think, if even this blasphemy be taught *in terminis?* See this too.

In the year 1407, when the duke of Orleans had been slain by John of Burgundy, and the fact notorious beyond a possibility of concealment, he thought it his best way to employ his chaplain to justify the act, pretending that Orleans was a tyrant. This stood him in small stead, for by the procurement of Gerson, it was decreed in the council of Constance, that tyranny was no sufficient cause for a man to kill a prince. But yet, I find, that even this decree will not stand princes in much stead: first, because the decree runs *ut nemo privata auctoritate*, &c.; but if the pope commands it, then it is *judicium*

* Pag. 106, n. 157.

publicum, and so they are never the more secure for all this. Secondly, because Mariana * tells us, that this decree is nothing. *Namque id decretum (Concilii Constantiensis) Romano Pontifici Martino quinto probatum non invenio, non Eugenio, aut successoribus, quorum consensu conciliorum ecclesiasticorum sanctitas stat.* Thirdly, because though the council had forbidden killing of tyrannical princes even by public authority, though this decree had been confirmed by the pope, which yet it was not, yet princes are never the more secure, if they be convicted of heresy; and, therefore, let them but add heresy to their tyranny, and, this council *non obstante*, they may be killed by any man; for so it is determined † in an apology made for Chastel, *Licitum esse privatis et singulis reges et principes hæreseos et tyrannidis condemnatos occidere, non obstante decreto concilii Constantiensis;*—and the author of the book *De justa Abdicatione Henrici III.* affirms it not only lawful, but meritorious.

How much less than this is that of Bellarmine ?‡ *Si temporalia obsint fini spirituali, spiritualis potestas potest et debet coërcere temporalem omni ratione ac via.* If *omni ratione*, then this of killing him in case of necessity, or greater convenience, must not be excluded. But to confess the business openly and freely, it is known that either the consent of the people, or the sentence of the pope, or consent of learned men, is with them held to be a *publicum judicium*, and sufficient to sentence a prince, and convict him of heresy or tyranny. That opinion which makes the people judge, is very rare amongst them, but almost generally exploded;§ that opinion which makes the learned to be their judge, is, I think, proper to Mariana, or to a few more with him; but that the sentence of the pope is a sufficient conviction of him, and a complete judicial act, is the most catholic opinion on that side, as I shall show anon. Now whether the pope, or learned men, or the people, be to pass this sentence on the prince, it is plain that it is a universal doctrine amongst them, that after this sentence, whosesoever it be, it is then without question lawful to kill him; and

* De Reg. et R. Instit. lib. i. c. 6.

† Franc. Verum. Const. p. 2. c. 2. ‡ De Pont. R. lib. v. c. 6.

§ Vide P. D. M. Image of both Churches.

the most that ever they say is, that it is indeed not lawful to kill a king, not lawful for a private man, of his own head, without the public sentence of his judge; but when this judge (whom they affirm to be the pope) hath passed his sentence, then they doubt not of its being lawful. That I say true, I appeal to Gregory de Valentia,[a] Tolet,[b] Bellarmine,[c] Suarez,[d] Salmeron,[e] Serarius,[f] Molina,[g] Emmanuel Sà,[h] Azorius,[i] Martinus Delrius,[k] Lessius,[l] Gretser,[m] Becanus,[n] Sebastian Heisius,[o] Richeome,[p] Eudæmon Johannes,[q] Salianus,[r] Filliucius,[s] Adam Tanner,[t] and their great Thomas Aquinas.[u]

All these, and many more that I have seen, teach the lawfulness of killing kings after public sentence; and then, to beautify the matter, profess that they deny the lawfulness of *regicidium* by a private authority. For if the pope sentence him, then he is no longer a king, and so the killing of him is not *regicidium;* and if any man doth kill him after such sentence, then he kills him not *privata auctoritate*, or *sine judicio publico;* which is all they affirm to be unlawful.

And thus they hope to stop the clamor of the world against them, yet to have their opinions stand intire, the way to their own ends fair, but the prince no jot the more secure of his life. I do them no wrong, I appeal to the authors themselves; there I will be tried. For that either the people, or that a company of learned men, or to be sure the pope may license a man to kill the king, they speak it with one voice and tongue. And

[a] Tom. iii. disp. 5. q. 8. punct. 3. [b] In Sum. lib. v. c. 6.
[c] Apolog. ad R. Angl. c. 13. [d] Defens. Fidei, lib. vi. c. 4.
[e] In 13 cap. ad Rom. disp. 5. [f] Quæst. p. in c. 3. Jud.
[g] De Just. et Jure, tom. iv. tr. 3. d. 6.
[h] Aphoris. verb. Tyrannus.
[i] Instit. Moral. 2 p. lib. xi. c. 5. q. 10.
[k] In Hercul. Furent. [l] De Instit. et Jure, c. 9. dub. 4.
[m] Chauvesouris, Polit. [n] In Resp. ad Aphoris. Calvinistarum.
[o] Contr. Calvinist. Aphorism. c. 3. ad Aphor. 1.
[p] In Expostul. ad Henric. Reg. pro Societate.
[q] In Apolog. pro Henrico Garnetto.
[r] Ad annum mundi 2669, n. 7.
[s] Tract. 29. p. 2. de quinto precepto Decal. n. 12.
[t] Tom. iii. disp. 4. q. 8. dub. 3. n. 32.
[u] Opusc. 20. et lib. i. de Regim. Præcip. c. 6.

now after all this we may better guess what manner of counsel or threatening (for I know not which to call it) that was which Bellarmine* gave sometimes to king James of blessed memory: *Si securus regnare velit rex, si vitæ suæ et suorum consulere cupiat, sinat catholicos frui religione sua.* If this be good counsel, then, in case the catholics were hindered from the free profession of their religion, at the best it was full of danger, if not certain ruin. But I will no more rake this Augean stable; in my first part I showed it was too catholic a doctrine, and too much practised by the great Cisalpine prelate. I add no more, lest truth itself should blush, fearing to become incredible.

Now, if we put all these things together, and then we should prove to be heretics in their account, we are in a fair case, both prince and people: if we can but guess rightly at this, we shall need, I think, to look no farther why fire was called for to consume both our king and country, nor why we may fear it another time.

The author of the "Epistle of Comfort to the Catholics in Prison," printed by authority, in the year of the powder treason, is very earnest to persuade his catholics not to come to our churches, or communicate with us in any part of our divine service; affrighting them with the strange *terriculamenta* of half Christians, hypocrites, deniers of Christ, in case they joined with us in our Liturgy.† Strange affrightments these, yet not much more than what is true, if they esteem us heretics. For if they think us so, we are so to them; and they, communicating with us, do as much sin as if we were so indeed.

But if we be not heretics, what need all this stir, *permissu superiorum?* the counsel of recusancy was unreasonable, dangerous, schismatical, and, as the case then stood, very imprudent. In charity to their discretion, we cannot but think them uncharitable in their opinion of us.

But there is no need we should dispute ourselves into a conjecture: themselves speak out and plain enough. Hear Bellar-

* In lib. sub nomine Torti, edit. Colon. Agrip. 1610. p. 21.

† Εἴτις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων ἢ αἱρετικῶν συνεύξασθαι, καθαιρείσθω, καὶ ἀφοριζέσθω.—36 Can. Apost. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ αἱρετικοῖς συνεύχεσθαι.—33 Laodic.

mine,* under the visor of Tortus, affirming that the king's edict commanded the catholics to go to heretics' churches, speaking of ours. But more plain is that of Champ, the Sorbonist, in his treatise of Vocation of Bishops:—"Therefore, as Arianism is a condemned heresy, and the professors thereof be heretics; so likewise is protestantism a condemned heresy, and those that profess it be also heretics."†

By this time we see too plainly that the state of protestant princes is full of danger, where these men have to do. They may be deposed and expelled from the government of their kingdoms, they must be deposed by the catholics under peril of their souls, it may be done any way that is most convenient; they may be rebelled against, fought with, slain. For all this, it were some ease, if here we might fix a *non ultra:* for, perhaps, these princes might put in a plea for themselves, and go near to prove themselves to be no heretics. All is one; for though they do, yet unless they can persuade his holiness not to judge them so, or declare them heretics, all is to no purpose, for to him they must stand or fall. *Nam judicare an rex pertrahat ad hæresim necne, pertinet ad pontificem:* so Bellarmine. They need not stay till his heresy be of itself manifest: he is then to be used like a heretic, "when by the pope of Rome he shall be judged heretical."

But what matter is it if the pope be judge? for if they may be deposed, as good he as any else. What grievance then can this be to the state of princes more than the former? Yes, very much. 1. Because the pope, by his order to spirituals, may take away kingdoms on more pretences than actual heresy. It is a large title, and may do any thing. Bellarmine ‡ expresses it handsomely, and it is the doctrine of their great Aquinas. § "The pope," saith he, "by his spiritual power, may dispose of the temporalities of all the Christians in the world, when it is requisite to the end of the spiritual power." The words are plain that he may do it for his own ends (for his is the spiritual power), that is, for the advancement of the see apostolic; and thus, to be sure, he did actually with Frederick

* Apol. ad R. Angl. † Cap. 11. p. 149. Douay, 1616.
‡ Ubi supra. § De Regim. Princip.

Barbarossa, John of Navarre, the earl of Toulouse, and our own king John. 2. The pope pretends to a power, that, to avoid the probable danger of the increase of heresy, he may take away a territory from the right owner, as is reported by the cardinal D'Ossat; and this is soon pretended; for who is there that cannot make probabilities, especially when a kingdom is at stake? 3. We find examples, that the pope hath excommunicated princes, and declared them heretics, when all the heresy hath been a not laying their crowns at the feet of St. Peter. The case of Louis IV. is every where known, whom John XXIII. excommunicated. Platina* tells the reason. He called himself emperor without the pope's leave, and aided the Italian deputies to recover Milan. Doubtless a most damnable and fundamental heresy! 4. How, if it proves in the pope's account to be a heresy to defend the immediate right of princes to their kingdoms, dependent only on God, not on the see apostolic? If this be no heresy, nor like heresy, to say it, I would fain learn the meaning of Baronius† concerning the book of Johannes de Roa, who some time had been a Jesuit, but then changed his order, and became Augustan, saying, "it was sentenced to the fire before it had escaped the press." And good reason, *Nihil enim tale a patribus societatis didicit.* Good men, they never taught him any such doctrine as is contained in that pestilent book, *de juribus principalibus defendendis et moderandis juste.* Now, if this be heresy, or like it, to preach such a doctrine, then likely it will be judged heresy in princes to do so, that is, to hold their crowns without acknowledgment of subordination to St. Peter's chair. And if it be not heresy to do so, it is in their account as bad; for so the Jesuits, in their *Veritas defensa* against the action of Arnald the advocate, affirm, *in terminis*, that the actions of some kings of France against the pope, in defence of their regalities, were but "examples of rebellion, and spots to disgrace the purity of the French lilies." 5. But in case the pope should chance to mistake in his sentence against a prince, for the cause of heresy, yet, for all this mistake, he can secure any man to take away

* In Clement. Quinto.

† Baron. tom. vi. Annal. An. Dom. 447. n. 8.

the prince's life or kingdom. His lawyers will be his security for this point. For although, in this case, the deposition of the prince should be, and be acknowleged to be, against God's law, the prince being neither tyrant nor heretic, yet his holiness commanding it, takes away the unlawfulness of it, by his dispensation. So D. Marta;* and for this doctrine he quotes Hostiensis, Felinus, Gratus the abbot, the archbishop of Florence, Ancharanus, Johannes Andreas, Laurentius de Pinu, and some others. Indeed his divines deny this; *sed contrarium tamen observatur*, as it is very well observed by the same doctor;† for he brings the practice and example of pope Martin V., Julius II., Celestine III., Alexander III., and Sixtus Quintus, all which dispensed in cases acknowleged to be expressly against God's law. 6. Lastly, how if the pope should lay a claim to all the kingdoms of the world, as belonging to St. Peter's patrimony, by right of spiritual pre-eminence? I know no great security we have to the contrary. For, first, it is known he hath claimed the kingdom of England, as feudatory to the see apostolic.‡ Which when I considered, I wondered not at that new and insolent title which Mosconius gives his holiness of *Defensor Fidei:* he might have added the title of *Rex Catholicus*, and *Christianissimus*. For Dr. Marta, in his treatise of "Jurisdiction,"§ which he dedicated to Paulus Quintus, hath that for an argument why he dedicated his book to him, because, forsooth, the pope is the only monarch of the world. But of greater authority is that of Thomas Aquinas,‖ affirming the pope to be the vertical top of all power, ecclesiastical and civil. So that now it may be true which the bishop of Patara told the emperor, in behalf of pope Sylverius;

* De Jurisd. cas. lxiv. v. 14. † Num. 17.

‡ Rex Anglorum est subditus Romano pontifici, ratione directi dominii, quod in regnum Angliæ et Hiberniæ Romana habet ecclesia —Bellarm. Apol. adv. R. Angl. c. 3.

§ De Majest. Milit. Eccles. c. 1. p. 25. Epist. Dedicat. "Tibi, a quo emanat omnis jurisdictio, unicus in orbe pontifex, imperator et rex, omnium principum superior, rerumque et personarum supremus et dominus."

‖ 2 Sent. Dist. 44. et lib. iii. de Regim. Princ.

*Multos esse reges, sed nullum talem, qualis ille, qui est papa super ecclesiam mundi totius.**

For these reasons, I think, it is true enough, that the constituting the pope the judge of princes in the matter of deposition, is of more danger than the thing itself. The sum is this. However schism or heresy may be pretended, yet it is but during the pope's pleasure, that kings or subjects shall remain firm in their mutual necessitude: for if our prince be but excommunicate or declared heretic, then to be a good subject will be accounted no better than irreligion and anti-catholicism. If the conclusion be too hard and intolerable, then so are the premises; and yet they pass for good catholic doctrine among themselves.

But if truly, and *ex animo*, they are otherwise affected, they should do well to unsay what hath been said, and declare themselves, by public authority, against such doctrines; and say, whether or no their determinations shall be *de fide*. If they be, then all those famous catholic doctors, Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine, Creswell, Mariana, Emmanuel Sà, &c., are heretics, and their canons teach heresy, and many of their popes are to be condemned as heretical, for practising and teaching deposition of princes, by an authority usurped against, and in prejudice of, the Christian faith. But if their answers be not *de fide*, then they had as good say nothing, for the danger is not at all decreased; because if there be doctors on both sides, by their own assertion † they may without sin follow either, but yet more safely, if they follow the most received and the most authorised; and whither this rule will lead them, I will be judged by any man that hath considered the premises. Briefly, either this thing must remain in the same state it is, and our princes still exposed to so extreme hazards, or else let his holiness seat himself in his chair, condemn these doctrines, vow against their future practice, limit his *ordo ad spiritualia*, contain himself within the limits of causes directly and merely ecclesiastical, disclaim all power, so much as indirect, over princes' temporals,

* Lib. in Breviar. de Causa Nestorian. c. 21.

† Charity maintained by Cath. c. 7.

and all this with an intent to oblige all Christendom. Which when I see done, I shall be most ready to believe that nothing in popery doth, either directly or by a necessary consequence, destroy loyalty to our lawful prince; but not till then, having so much evidence to the contrary.

III. Thus much was occasioned by consideration of the cause of the disciples' query, which was when they saw this, that their Lord and Master, for his difference in religion, was turned forth of doors; which when they saw, 'They said, Lord:' it was well they asked at all, and would not too hastily act what they too suddenly had intended; but it was better that they asked Christ; it had been the best warrant they could have had, could they have obtained but a *magister dixit*. But this was not likely; it was too strange a question to ask of such a Master, *a Magistro mansuetudinis licentiam crudelitatis*. Nothing could have come more cross to his disposition. His spirit never was addicted to blood, unless it were to shed his own. He was a Prince of peace, and set forth to us by all the symbols of peace and gentleness, as of a sheep, a lamb, a hen, a gentle twining vine, the healing olive: and is it likely, that such a one should give his *placet* to the utter ruin of a company of poor villagers, for denying him a night's lodging, moved thereto by the foregoing scandal of a schism? he knew better what it cost to redeem a man, and to save his life from destruction, than to be so hasty for his ruin. And if the fathers confessors, who were to answer the question of the day, had but reflected on this gospel, they might have informed their penitents better, than to have engaged them on such antichristian and treasonable practices, as to destroy an assembly of Christians, as to depose or kill a king.

It is the proper cognisance of Mahometanism, by fire and sword to maintain their cause, and to propagate their religion, by ruin of princes, and conquering their kingdoms; but it is the excellency of Christianity, that by humility and obedience it made princes tributary to our dear Master, and homagers to his kingdoms. When Valentinian sent Calligonus, his chamberlain, to St. Ambrose, to threaten him from his faith, his answer was, *Deus permittit tibi, ut impleas quod minaris. Ego patiar, quod est episcopi; tu facies, quod est spadonis.* He

did not stir up the numerous people of his diocese to rebel against the emperor, or depose him; employed no agent in his court to undermine his security, or assassin to take his life. He and the rest of those good fathers would not have lost their possibility of being martyrs for the world, unless it were by persuading the emperors to the Christian faith. "We pray for all our governors, that they might have long life, a secure government, a safe house, strong armies, good subjects, quiet world." So Tertullian.*

I had thought that the doctrine and example of our blessed Saviour, the practice apostolical and primitive, had been ties enough to keep us in our obedience to God and the king, and in Christian charity to all; but I find that all these precepts come to nothing; for the Apostles and primitive Christians did not actually depose kings, nor alter states, nor call for fire to consume their enemies; not because it was simply unlawful so to do, or any way adverse to the precepts of Christ, but because they wanted power. So Bellarmine:† "The church gave leave that the faithful should obey Julian, because then they wanted forces."—And F. Creswell‡ is very confident of the business, "They might without all question have appointed to themselves other kings and princes, if the Christians had been strong enough to bring their intendments to pass." But because they could not, therefore it was not lawful for them to go about it, nor is it for us in the same case, "especially if the prince hath quiet possession, and a strong guard about him, then by no means is it lawful for a single man, by his own authority, to assault his prince that rules tyrannically." So Salmeron.§ But who sees not that this way murder may be lawful? For true it is God commanded us, saying, 'Thou shalt not kill,' that is, if thou art not able to lift up thy hand, or strike a stroke; thou shalt not blaspheme, that is, if thou beest speechless; thou must be obedient to thy prince, that is, if thou canst not tell how to help it. Good doctrine this! And indeed it might possibly be something if God had commanded our subordination to princes only 'for wrath,' for then *si vires adsint*,

* Apologet. † De Pontif. R. lib. v. c. 7.
‡ Philopater, p. 107. n. 158. § Disp. 5. in c. 13. ad Roman.

if we can defend ourselves, we are secure, we need not fear his wrath: but when he adds, 'also for conscience' sake,' I cannot sufficiently wonder that any man should obtrude so senseless, so illiterate, and so impious an interpretation on the Christian world, under the title of catholic doctrine.

Christ, when he was betrayed, and seized on by his murderers, could have commanded twelve legions of angels for his guard, *Non defuerunt vires;* and, in all human likelihood, such a *satellitium* as that would have moved them to a belief in him, or else, I am sure, might have destroyed the unbelievers. Shall I say more against this rude *glossema?* Then thus. It is false that the primitive Christians had not power to defend themselves against their persecutors. Hear St. Cyprian: *Nemo nostrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur, nec se adversus injustitiam et violentiam vestram, quamvis nimius et copiosus noster sit populus, ulciscitur.* They could have resisted and that to blood, but they had not so learned Christ. Prayers and tears were the arms of Christians, and then they had a defence beyond all this, when they were hard put to it; *mori potuerunt:* a submission of their bodies to martyrdom was their last refuge.

Thus St. Agnes, Lucia, Agatha, Christina, Domitilla saved both their faith and chastity, *non armis, sed ignibus, et carnificis manu;* the tormentor's last cruelty defended them from all succeeding danger.

I will not yet conclude, that that which these men obtrude for catholic doctrine is flat and direct heresy; I will instance but once more, and then I shall. In the fourth council of Toledo, which was assembled when the usurping and tyrannising Goths did domineer in Europe, the most whereof were tyrants, usurpers, or Arians; the council decreed that if any man did violate the life or person of his king, *aut potestate regni exuerit,* kill him or depose him, *Anathema sit,* &c., he should be accursed in the sight of God and his holy angels, and, together with all the companions of his iniquity, he should be separated from the catholic church. And now, I hope I may say that these men who either practise or advise such practices as killing or deposing kings, are as formally condemned for heresy, and anathematised, as ever was Manichee or Cataphrygian. I

know not, but, perhaps, this might be thought of when the Jesuits were inscribed heretics on the public pillar before the Louvre, at Paris, on their banishment: however, let them answer it as they may, it concerns them as much as their being catholics comes to, *Et considerent, quia quæ prædicant tantopere verba, aut ipsorum summorum pontificum sunt suas fimbrias extendentium, aut illorum qui eis adulantur,* as said Æneas Sylvius;* but at no hand can it be Christian doctrine.

I instanced in these things to show the antithesis between the spirit of our blessed Saviour, who answered the question of the text; and the fathers confessors, of whom was asked the question of the day.

But give me leave to consider them not only as misinforming their penitents, but as concealing their intended purpose; for even this way, the persons to whom the question was propounded made themselves guilty of the intended machination.† For by all law, ecclesiastical and civil, he that conceals an intended murder or treason, makes himself as much a party for concealing, as is the principal for contriving.

Ob. But these fathers confessors could not be accused by these general laws, as being exempt by virtue of special case; for they received notice of these things only in confession, the seal of which is so sacred and inviolable, that he is sacrilegious who in any case doth break it open, though it be to avoid the greatest evil that can happen, so Bellarmine;‡ to save the lives of all the kings in Christendom, so Binet;§ though to save a whole commonwealth from damage, temporal or spiritual, of body or soul, so Suarez. ||

A considerable matter! On the one side we are threatened by sacrilege, on the other by danger of princes and commonwealths; for the case may happen, that either the prince and whole state may be suffered to perish bodily and ghostly, or else

* De Gestis Concil. Basil. lib. i.

† Cap. quantæ de senten. excom. et c. delicto ibid. in 6. 13. q. 3. lib. i. Occisorum ad Syllanian. et lib. sec. 1. ad L. Cornel. de Falsis, l. quisquis ad l. Jul. Majest.

‡ Apol. adv. R. Angl.

§ Casaub. ad Front. Duc. In 3 part. D. Thom. disp.

|| 33. sect. i. n. 2.

the priest must certainly damn himself by the sacrilegious breach of the holy seal of confession. Give me leave briefly to consider it, and, both for the acquittance of our state in its proceedings against these traitors, and for the regulating of the case itself, to say these two things.

1. This present treason was not revealed to these fathers confessors in formal confession. 2. If it had, it did not bind to secrecy in the present case. Of the first, only a word.

1. It was only propounded to them in way of question or consultation * (like this in the text), as appeared by their own confessions, and the attestation of then Sir Henry Mountague, recorder of London, to Garnet himself: it could not, therefore, be a formal confession; and, therefore, not bind to the seal. It is the common opinion of their own doctors: *Non enim inducitur obligatio sigilli in confessione, quam quis facit sine ullo animo accipiendi absolutionem, sed solum consilii petendi causa.*†

2. It was propounded to these fathers confessors as a thing not subjectable to their penitential judicature, because it was a fact not repented of, but then in agitation, and resolved on for the future. How then could this be a confession, whose institution must certainly be in order to absolution; and how could this be in any such order, when it was a business of which they could not expect to be absolved, unless they hoped to sin with a pardon about their necks; and on condition God would be merciful to them in its remission, would come and profess that they were resolved to anger him? In reason, this could be no act of repentance, neither could it, by confession of their own side. It is the doctrine of Hostiensis: and Navarre‡ and Cardinal Alban§ confess it to be most commonly received.

3. It was not only not repented of, but by them reputed to be a good action, and so could not be a matter of confession. I

* Vide Casaub. Ep. ad Front. D. p. 133.

† De Soto, in lib. iv. Sent. d. 18. q. 4. art. 5. concl. 5. Navar. c. 8. n. 18. Suarez, disp. 33. sec. 2. Coninck, de sigil. conf. dub. 1. n. 7.

‡ Cap. Sacerdos, 3. q. n. 116.

§ In Lucubrat. ad Bartolum, in L. ut vim, n. 22. ff. de Justitia et Jure.

appeal to any of their own manuals and penitentiary books. It is culpable, say they. I am sure it is ridiculous in any man to confess, and shrive himself of a good action; and that this was such in their opinion, it is plain, by that impious answer of Garnet, affirming it a business greatly meritorious, if any good might thence accrue to the catholic cause.*

4. By this their pretended confession they endeavored to acquire new complices, as is evident in the "Proceedings against the Traitors." They were therefore bound to reveal it, for it neither was, nor could be, a proper and formal confession. That this is the common opinion of their own schools, see it affirmed by Ægidius Coninck.†

The first particular then is plain. Here neither was the form of confession, nor yet could this thing be a matter of confession; therefore supposing the seal of confession to be sacredly inviolable, in all cases, yet they were highly blamable for their concealment in the present.

2. But the truth of the second particular is more to be inquired of: that is, that though these things had been only revealed in confession, and this confession had been formal and direct, yet they were bound, in the present case, to reveal it, because the seal of confession is not so inviolable, as that in no case it is to be broken up; and if in any, especially it may be opened in the case of treason.

I never knew any thing cried up with so general a voice, on so little ground, as is the over-hallowed seal of confession.

True it is, that an ordinary secret, committed to a friend in civil commerce, is not to be revealed on every cause, nor on many; but on some it may, as they all confess. If thus, then much rather is this to be observed in the revelation of the secrets of our consciences, not only from the ordinary tie to secrecy, but likewise, lest sins should grow more frequent, if so great a remedy of them be made so odious, as to expose us to a public infamy or danger of the law. The council, therefore, that first introduced this obligation, was very prudent and reasonable, pleads a thousand years' prescription, and relies on good conveniences. This is all that ever could be proved of it, as may

* See Proceedings against late Traitors. † ubi supra.

appear anon; but these are too weak a base, to build so great a structure on it, as to make it sacrilege, or any sin at all, to reveal confessions, in some cases.

1. For first, if because it is delivered as a secret, and such a secret, it is the more closely and religiously to be kept; it is true,—but concludes no more, but that it must be a greater cause that must authorise a publication of this, than of the secrets of ordinary commerce between friend and friend.

2. If the licensing of publication of confession be a way to make confession odious, and therefore that it may not be published,—I say, if this concludes, then, on the contrary, it concludes far more strongly, that therefore, in some cases, it may be published; because nothing can make a thing more odious and intolerable, than if it be made a cover for grand impieties, so as to engage a true subject, quietly and knowingly, to see his prince murdered.

3. If it be discouragement to the practice of confession, that some sins revealed in it must be published, though with peril to the delinquent's fame and life; then it will be a far greater discouragement to the sin, when that it shall, by a universal judgment, be so detested, that its concealment may not be permitted, though it be with the hazard of discouraging the holy duty of confession; and when the being guilty of such a sin shall reduce men into such straits, that either they shall want the benefit of absolution, or submit themselves to a public satisfaction: and so, even in this particular, the benefit is far greater than the imaginary inconvenience.

The conveniences of the seal force no more, than that it is convenient to be observed; not simply and absolutely, in all cases, necessary. And perhaps Suarez, the great patron of it, peceived it; however, he lays the burden *super communi consensu ecclesiæ, ejusque perpetua traditione.** If then I can show, that there is no such catholic consent of the present church, nor any universal tradition of the ancient church, for the inviolable seal, but plainly the contrary; then our church, in her permission of the priests to reveal some confessions, is as inculpable as those of the present church, who (besides herself) teach and practise

* In 3 part. D. Thom. disp. 33. sec. 1. n. 2.

it, and as the primitive church, whose example in this, as in other things, she strictly follows.

Of the first, the church of England, which observes the seal of confession as sacredly as reason or religion itself can possibly permit, yet forbids not disclosure, in case of murder or treason; but, in these particulars, leaves us intire in our obedience to the common laws of England; and these command it.*

That the church of England gives leave, in some cases, to reveal confessions, is argument enough to prove, that the seal is not founded on the consent of the present catholic church: for it is no more a begging of the question (nor apparently so much) to say, the church of England is a part of the catholic church, and therefore her consent is required to make a thing universal, than to say, the church of Rome is the whole catholic church, therefore her consent is sufficient to make a thing catholic. But I shall not need to proceed this way. For,

It is apparent, that, of their own side, Altisidiorensis largely and professedly proves the lawfulness of publication in some cases, as is to be seen, lib. 4. Summæ Tract. 6. cap. 3. q. 7.: and Garnet himself,—the man who, if any, had most need to stand in defence of the seal, that the pretence of it might have defended him,—yet confessed, of his own accord, *Leges, quæ celare hæc prohibent, apprime esse justas et salutares.*† He adds his reason, and that is more than his authority; for, saith he, it is not fitting that the life and safety of a prince should depend on the private niceties of any man's conscience. If two, nay, if one dissent, it is enough to destroy a consent. But see farther.

There are many cases, generally, confessed amongst themselves, in which the seal of formal, and, as they love to speak, sacramental confession, may be broken open. I instance but in two or three.

First, confession may be revealed to clear a doubtful case of marriage. It is the opinion of many great canonists,‡ as you may see them quoted by Suarez de Paz, and Covaruvias:§ and the case of the Venetian, who married a virgin that was

* Can. 113. A.D. 1604. † Actio in Prodit. Lat. p. 99.
‡ Practic. Crim. Ecclesiast. c. 109. § Resol. de Matrimon.

both his sister and daughter;—and that at Rome, under pope Paul III. almost to like purpose;—were long disputed on both sides, whether they were to be revealed or not; so that at most, it is but a doubtful matter in such cases, whether the tie of secrecy doth oblige. Now if for the proof of marriage, the seal may be broken up, that man and wife might live contentedly, and as they ought, strange it should be unlawful to reveal confessions, in case of treason, for the safety of a prince or state!

In case of heresy, the seal binds not, by their own general confession. It is a rule amongst them,

Hæresis est crimen, quod non confessio celat.

Now I would fain learn why treason is not as revealable as heresy? Is heresy dangerous to souls? Then surely so is treason, unless it be none, or a very small crime. May heresy infect others? So may treason, as it did in the present. It may then as well be revealed as heresy. Now that it may something rather, I have these reasons: 1. because it is not so certain that such an opinion is heresy, as that such a fact is treason: 2. because, although both treason and real heresy be damnable and dangerous to souls, yet heresy kills no kings as treason doth. I confess that heresy may, and doth teach it, but then it degenerates into treason. Now, if some heresy may be treason, then that treason is heresy; and so a case of treason may occur, in which, from their own confession, treason is revealable.

3. By the most general voice of their own side, any man may license his confessor to reveal his confession: it is the doctrine of Scotus, Durandus, Almain, Navarre, Medina, and generally of all the Thomists. I infer, if a private man may license his confessor to reveal his confession, then the seal of confession is not founded on any divine commandment; for if it were, the penitent could not give the priest license to break it. But, if the penitent may give his confessor leave, because the tie of secrecy is a bond in which the priest stands bound to the penitent, and, he giving him leave, remits of his own right, then much rather may a whole state authorise this publication;* for, what-

* L. quod Major ff. ad Municipalem.

ever personal right a private man hath, that the whole state hath much rather, for he is included in it as a part of the whole; and in such cases as concern the whole commonwealth, as this of treason doth most especially, the rule of the law holds without exception. *Refertur ad universos, quod publice fit per majorem partem:** the delinquent gives leave to the publication of confession, therefore, because the whole state doth, whereof he is one member. I add, that in the case of treason this is much rather true, for here the delinquent loseth all his right whatsoever, prædial, personal, and of privilege; and, therefore, the commonwealth can the better license the publication, and the breach of the bond of secrecy, in which the confessor stood tied to the penitent by virtue of implicit stipulation.

4. Lastly, even in special, in the very case of treason confessed, many of their own do actually practise a publication, when either they are loyal of themselves, or dare not be otherwise.

I instance first in the church of France. For this, see Bodinus,† who reports of a Norman gentleman, whom his confessor discovered for having confessed a treasonable purpose he sometimes had, of killing Francis I., of which he was penitent, did his penance, craved absolution, obtained it, but yet was sentenced to the axe by express commission from the king to the parliament of Paris.‡ The like confession was made by the lord of Haulterville, when he was in danger of death; which when he had escaped, he incurred it with the disadvantage of public infamy on the scaffold. I instance not in the case of Barriere: it is every where known, as it is reported by Thuanus, but more fully by the author of *Histoire de la Paix.* Nor yet is France singular in the practice of publication of confessed treason: for at Rome there have been examples of the like; I mean of those who confessed their purpose of killing the pope, who were revealed by their confessors, and accordingly punished.§

Thus then the first pretence proves a nullity; and either our

* ff. de Regul. Jur. ad sec. refertur. Lib. vii. sec. ult. ff. de Pact.

† De Republ. lib. ii. c. 5. ‡ Histoire de Lapaiz.

§ Dominic. e Soto, memb. 3. q. 4. concl. 2. de rat. regendi secret.

laws are just in commanding publication of confession in case of treason, or themselves very culpable in teaching and practising it in the same, and in cases of less moment. The second is like the first, for it is extremely vain to pretend that the seal of confession is founded on catholic tradition. Judge by the sequel.

The first word I hear of concealing confessions, is in Sozomen,* relating how the Greek church, about the time of Decius the emperor, set over the penitents a public penitentiary priest, who was bound to be *vir bonæ conversationis, servansque secretum,* "a good man, and a keeper of secrets;" for, indeed, he was bound to conceal some crimes; in particular, those which an adulteress had confessed, I mean, concerning her adultery, as appears in the canons of St. Basil.† But yet this priest who was so tied to a religious secrecy, did "publish many of them in the congregation before the people," that they might reprove the delinquent and discountenance the sin. The same story is reported by Cassiodore and Nicephorus from the same author.

The lawfulness and practice of publication, in some cases, is as clear in Origen.‡ "If (saith he) the physician of thy soul perceives thy sins to be such as to need so harsh a remedy as to have them published before the assemblies of the people, that others may be admonished, and thou the better cured, he need be very deliberate, and skilful in the application of it." Hitherto, no such thing as a universal tradition for the pretended inviolable sacramental seal; for Origen plainly, and by them, confessedly speaks of such sins as first were privately confessed to the priest; how else should he deliberate of their publication? but yet he did so; and, for all the seal of confession, sometimes opened many of them to no fewer witnesses than a whole assembly. Thus it was, in the Greek church, both law and custom. But now, if we look into the Latin church, we shall find that it was taken up from example of the Greeks and some while practised, that some particular sins should be

* Hist. lib. vii. c. 16.

† Τὰς μοιχευθείσας γυναῖκας καὶ ἐξαγορεύσας δι' εὐλάβειαν δημοσιεύειν οὐκ ἐκέλευσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. Epist. ad Amphil.

‡ Homil. 2. in Psal. xxxvii.

published in the church before the congregation, as it is confessed in the council of Mentz, and inserted by Burchard into his decree.*

But when the lay piety began to cool, and the zeal of some clergymen wax too hot, they would needs heighten this custom of publication of some sins, to a law of the publishing of all sins. This being judged to be inconvenient, expressed the first decree for the seal of confession in the Latin church. Now see how it is uttered, and it will sufficiently inform us both of the practice, and the opinion which antiquity had of the obligation to the seal.

Illam contra apostolicam regulam præsumptionem, &c., that is, "it was against the apostolical ordinance, that a law should enjoin that the priest should reveal all those sins which had been told him in confession."† It might be done, so it were not required and exacted; and yet might be so required, so it were not a publication of all. *Non enim omnium hujusmodi sunt peccata;* saith St. Leo: "some sins are inconvenient to be published:" it is not fit the world should know all; therefore some they might, or else he had said nothing. The reason which he gives makes the business somewhat clearer; for he derives it, not from any simple necessity of the thing, or a divine right; but lest men, out of inordinate love to themselves, "should rather refuse to be washed than buy their purity with so much shame." The whole epistle hath many things excellently to the same purpose.

I say no more; the doctrine and practice of antiquity is sufficiently evident, and that there is nothing less than a universal tradition for the seal of confession to be observed in all cases, even of sins of the highest malignity.

Thus these fathers confessors are made totally inexcusable by concealing a treason, which was not revealed to them in a formal confession; and had been likewise culpable though it had; there being, as I have shown, no such sacredness of the seal as to be inviolable in all cases whatsoever.

I have now done with the several considerations of the per-

* cap. 10. et 21. lib. xix. c. 37.

† Decret. S. Leonis, P. M. Epist. 80. ad episc. Campan.

sons to whom the question was propounded: they were the fathers confessors in the day, but it was Christ the Lord in my text. The question itself follows, 'Shall we command fire to come from heaven and consume them?'

IV. The question was concerning the fate of a whole town of Samaria; in our case it was more, of the fate of a whole kingdom. It had been well if such a question had been silenced by a direct negative, or, as the judges of the Areopagus used to do, put off *ad diem longissimum*, that they might have expected the answer three ages after.

De morte hominis nulla est cunctatio longa; no demur had been too long in a case of so much and so royal blood, the blood of a king, of a king's children, of a king's kingdom. Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες, king and kingdom, should have been made a solemn sacrifice to appease their solemn deliberate malice. I said "deliberate," for they were loath to be malicious without good advice, and therefore they asked their question, worthy of an oracle even no less than Delphic, where an evil spirit was the *numen*, and a witch the prophet. For the question was such of which a Christian could not doubt, though he had been fearfully scrupulous in his resolutions. For who ever questioned the unlawfulness of murder, of murdering innocents, of murdering them who were confessed righteous? For such was their proposal; being rather willing that catholics should perish with those whom they thought heretics, than that there should be no blood spilt.

But to the question. It was fire they called for, the most merciless of all the elements, no possibility of relenting when once kindled, and had its object. It was the fittest instrument for merciless men, men of no bowels, whose malice, like their instrument, did *agere ad extremum suarum virium*, "work to the highest of its possibility." Secondly, it was fire indeed they called for, but not like that in my text, not fire from heaven. They might have called as long and as loud as those priests did, who contested with Elijah; no fire would have come from heaven to have consumed what they had intended for a sacrifice. God's anathemas post not so fast as ours do: *Deus non est sicut homo.* Man curseth often whom God bless-

eth; men condemn whom God acquits; and, therefore, they were loath to trust God with their cause; they therefore take it into their own hands. And certainly, if to their anathemas they add some fagots of their own, and gunpowder, it is odds but then we may be consumed indeed; and so did they: their fire was not from heaven.

Lastly, it was a fire so strange, that it had no example. The Apostles, indeed, pleaded a mistaken precedent for the reasonableness of their demand; they desired leave to do but 'even as Elias did.' The Greeks only retain this clause, it is not in the bibles of the church of Rome, and really these *Romano-barbari* could never pretend to any precedent for an act so barbarous as theirs. Adramelech, indeed, killed a king, but he spared the people; Haman would have killed the people, but spared the king: but that both king and people, princes and judges, branch, and rush, and root, should die at once, as if Caligulas were actuated and all England on one head, was never known till now, that all the malice in the world met in this, as in a centre. The Sicilian even-song, the matins of St. Bartholomew, known for the pitiless and damned massacres, were but καπνοῦ σκιᾶς ὄναρ, "the dream of the shadow of smoke," if compared with this great fire. *In tam occupato sæculo fabulas vulgaris nequitia non invenit.* This was a busy age: Erostratus must have invented a more sublimed malice than the burning of one temple, or not have been so much as spoke of since the discovery of the powder treason. But I must make more haste, I shall not else climb the sublimity of this impiety. Nero was sometimes the *populare odium*, was "popularly hated;" and deserved it too; for he slew his master, and his wife, and all his family, once or twice over, opened his mother's womb, fired the city, laughed at it, slandered the Christians for it; but yet all these were but *principia malorum*, "the very first rudiments of evil." Add then to these, Herod's master-piece at Ramah, as it was deciphered by the tears and sad threnes of the matrons in a universal mourning for the loss of their pretty infants; yet this of Herod will prove but an infant wickedness, and that of Nero the evil but of one city. I would willingly have found out an example, but I see I cannot,

should I put into the scale the extract of all the old tyrants famous in antique stories,

> Bistonii stabulum regis, Busiridis aras,
> Antiphatæ mensas, et Taurica regna Thoantis.

Should I take for true story the highest cruelty as it was fancied by the most hieroglyphical Egyptian, this alone would weigh them down, as if the Alps were put in scale against the dust of a balance. For had this accursed treason prospered, we should have had the whole kingdom mourn for the inestimable loss of its chiefest glory, its life, its present joy, and all its very hopes for the future. For such was their destined malice, that they would not only have inflicted so cruel a blow, but have made it incurable, by cutting off our supplies of joy, the whole succession of the line royal. Not only the vine itself, but all the *gemmulæ*, and the tender olive branches, should either have been bent to their intentions, and made to grow crooked, or else been broken.

And now, after such a sublimity of malice, I will not instance in the sacrilegious ruin of the neighboring temples, which needs must have perished in the flame, nor in the disturbing the ashes of our entombed kings, devouring their dead ruins, like sepulchral dogs: these are but minutes, in respect of the ruin prepared for the living temples.

> Stragem sed istam non tulit
> Christus cadentum principum
> Impune, ne forsan sui
> Patris periret fabrica.

> Ergo quæ poterit lingua retexere
> Laudes, Christe, tuas, qui domitum struis
> Infidum populum cum duce perfido?*

Let us then return to God the cup of thanksgiving, he having poured forth so largely to us of the cup of salvation. We cannot want wherewithal to fill it: here is matter enough for an eternal thankfulness, for the expression of which a short life is

* Prudent. Hymn.

too little: but let us here begin our hallelujahs, hoping to finish them hereafter, where the many choirs of angels will fill the concert.

'Praise the Lord, ye house of Levi; ye that fear the Lord, praise the Lord. Praise the Lord out of Sion, which dwelleth at Jerusalem.'*

* Psal. cxxxv. 20, 21.

CONTEMPLATIONS

OF

THE STATE OF MAN

IN THIS LIFE,

AND IN

THAT WHICH IS TO COME.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

I have soberly considered these holy and devout "Contemplations of the State of Man in this Life, and in that which is to come." I never read any thing with more comfort, or which made a greater impression on my soul. Therefore, hoping they may have the like effect on others, I commend them to all persons who desire happiness in this life, or blessedness in the future. Here thou mayest see the instability of human greatness; the fate of kingdoms; the period of empires; the world's funeral; time laid in the dust; and the dread and horror of the last judgment. Here thou mayest have a prospect of the grandeur of heaven, the glory of the blessed, and the miseries and infelicities of the damned; the due consideration whereof will beget in thee holiness of life, than which nothing can be of more consequence, in these worst of times, to promote thy future happiness and glory. True piety sows the seeds of the most solid greatness. Men endowed with moral virtues are like diamonds, rich but unpolished. It is the fear of God that adds the true lustre, and sets them fair. In the service of God, all the items of happiness and blessedness are summed up. Dost thou desire riches? Serve God, and thou canst never be poor. Dost thou desire preferment? Live a holy and devout life, (as these Contemplations are the best introduction to it) and thou shalt go ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, from grace to glory. Grace is *Aurora Gloriæ;* glory nothing but a bright constellation of graces; and happiness nothing but the

quintessence of holiness. I shall not detain thee longer, but beg of God that these holy Contemplations may so influence thy soul, that thou mayest be made partaker of that eternal weight of glory which is laid up for all those that love and serve him.

I am thy friend and servant in Christ Jesus,

B. Hale, D.D.

SUMMARY

OF

CONTEMPLATIONS OF THE STATE OF MAN.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.—*Contemplations on time, and the state of man in this life.*

ON the succession of the parts of time, &c. This life may with reason be called the shadow of death. Miserable condition of human nature. Vanity of honors, riches, pleasures, &c. Illustrations and reflections. A prayer.

CHAP. II.—*All things on this side heaven are inconstant and transitory.*

All things partake of that perpetual succession and mutation which is the character of time itself. All human things, by their own internal nature, or by external violences, are liable to perish: this illustrated by the ruin of celebrated cities and kingdoms. One day often makes an end of great riches: this illustrated. No confidence to be placed in human prosperity. Examples of the fall of mighty potentates, &c. Farther observations on the shadowy and deceitful nature of the things of this world. A prayer.

CHAP. III.—*All sublunary things are contemptible and of no value.*

The vanity of honor, fame, and renown exposed and illus-

trated by examples. A man is really no greater than what he is in the eyes of God. Considerations on the vanity of riches and luxuries. Narrowness of the sphere of all our pleasures: pain and grief with which they are mingled. Considerations on royalty and external grandeur. Exhortation to admire and desire what is truly valuable.

CHAP. IV.—*The vanity of man.*

Considerations on the nature of man: wherein he ends: the perpetual successions or changes which he undergoes. His vileness when dead. Evils of man's nature. Manner in which his passions contribute to make him wretched. He troubles himself in vain, to enjoy a life that is only lent him for a short time. With good reason then it is to be valued as nothing. David's reflections on this subject. If we could but form a true conception of the shortness of this life, we should despise its pleasures. Reflections of those who have lived longest on this subject, &c.

CHAP. V.—*The miseries of temporal life.*

If man, before he was born, knew what he was to suffer in this life, he would not wish to be born at all: this subject enlarged on. All the days of man are full of grief and misery. Instance of pestilential disorders, of famine, of the ravages of war, of passions not subordinate to reason, &c. So many are the miseries of life that they cannot be numbered. Wonderful ways by which death finds us out; but Christians, in all the miseries and dangers of human life, have great comforts on which they may lay hold: this enlarged on.

CHAP. VI.—*The end of temporal life.*

The consideration that life, with all things temporal, is to end, were enough to make us despise it. Instances of the end of mighty men; as of Antiochus, Cæsar, Cyrus, Alexander.

Comparison calculated to withdraw us from a love of this life. Let no man be deceived in beholding the prosperity of a rich man, or measure his felicity by what is seen at the present time: this topic enlarged on. Considerations on death, and the relinquishment of all temporal things. Reflections on the loathsome sight of a dead body. Exhortation.

CHAP. VII.—*Of death, and the certainty of it.*

Three other considerations of the end of our life: 1. concerning the certainty of death, of which it imports us much to persuade ourselves. 2. As it is most certain that we shall die, so it is most uncertain when, or in what manner we shall die: this topic enlarged on. 3. To this uncertainty of death is to be added that it is only once to be undergone; so that the error of dying ill cannot be amended, &c. A prayer.

CHAP. VIII.—*Of that moment wherein we are to die, and life is to end.*

Necessity of our seriously considering all which is to pass in that moment of death, for which the time of this life was bestowed on us. It will be in vain then to make any addresses or applications. Miserable state of a sinner, when abandoned, not only by men, but by God. How can men be careless when the salvation of their souls depends on an instant? Let no man be secure in his past virtues, but continue them unto the end. Three things greatly calculated to make a sinner tremble. Terrible moment when all these three things are to pass. Reflections and exhortations. A prayer.

CHAP. IX.—*The end of temporal life is terrible.*

Death was said by the philosopher to be terrible, because it is the end of life. What would he have said, had he known it to be the beginning of eternity? Death is terrible for many weighty reasons; whereof not the least is the sight of our of-

fended Judge. Circumstances of this enumerated, with reflections and cautions. Another reason is, the multitude and deformity of our sins, which shall then be laid open: circumstances dilated on. Another cause of confusion to sinners shall be the clear knowlege of what God has done for them, and how they have strove, on the contrary, to draw on themselves damnation. Full consideration of the great mercies and benefits offered to us by God. Exhortation. Prayer.

CHAP. X.—*The end of all time.*

After we have finished the time of this life, the end of all time is to succeed. Reflections on this topic. The amazement and terror which this is calculated to produce. The dreadful manner in which all things shall end described and illustrated. Horrible fate of sinners, when that general fire, so often foretold, shall arrive. Vanity of all things that are prized on this earth, and their inefficiency to save or assist us, dilated on. Reflections.

CHAP. XI.—*Of the last day of time, and of the judgment which is to pass on all things in the world.*

The awful appendages of Christ's coming to judgment described. Circumstances of the just, who shall first meet their Redeemer in the air, enlarged on; as well as those of the reprobates in the valley of Jehoshaphat. The Saviour seated on his throne of glory, &c.: thrones also for the Apostles and saints, &c. Books of all men's consciences opened. Amazement of those who shall see men, who have been guilty of far greater sins than their own, saved on account of repentance. Sentence of the just Judge in favor of the good, and against the bad. Dreadful end of these latter described. Terrible circumstances of the destruction of this world. Exhortations.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.—*Of the greatness of things eternal.*

Although all temporal things are in themselves little and base, yet how much less and more contemptible are they unto him who considers the greatness and majesty of things eternal! Excellency of eternal glory, and joy of those who inherit the same, enlarged on. Greatness of it, in respect of its purity, and in respect of its perfection. Immense distance of earth from heaven descanted on: yet one moment brings thither the souls of the just! Proportionable also unto this distance is the glory which heaven possesses over earth. Folly of those who lose the former for a small speck of the latter. A prayer.

CHAP. II.—*Greatness of the eternal honor of the just.*

The goods of the other life are honors, riches, pleasures, and all the blessings both of body and soul; each of which will be treated of in order; and, first, of honor. The nature of honor is to be a reward of virtue; and by how much greater the reward is, by so much greater is the honor conferred. Highest honors of mortals described. These compared with the glory of a just soul in the presence of angels, on the same throne with Christ. This topic dilated on and illustrated.

CHAP. III.—*Of the riches of the eternal kingdom of heaven.*

The riches of heaven are no less than its honors, though these have been shown to be inestimable. There can be no greater riches than to want nothing that is good, nor to need any thing that can be desired. God gives himself as a possession to the saints. Besides this, the just shall reign with Christ eternally in the kingdom of heaven. Heaven called a kingdom for its immense greatness; and a city, for its great beauty and population: this topic enlarged on. This kingdom of God not like other kingdoms: its beauty, magnitude, and riches dilated on:

of those incomparable riches the blessed are to be not only lords, but kings, &c. Nor will their great riches be drawn, like those of earthly kings, from tributary vassals, &c.: this enlarged on. Exhortations to lift up our souls from the frail felicity of temporal goods, to these inestimable blessings in the heavens.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the greatness of eternal pleasures.*

Honor, profit, and pleasures are distinct goods on earth, and are rarely found together. Difference of the case in the next life. The multitude of joys in heaven is joined with their greatness: this enlarged on. The principal joy of the blessed will be the possession of God, whom they will behold clearly, as he is. The delight of dwelling on God's infinite perfections enlarged on. This inestimable joy of the vision of God will be multiplied into innumerable other joys: these described. Exhortations to Christian hope, and anticipation of such vast delights, &c. A prayer.

CHAP. V.—*Excellency and happiness of the souls and bodies of the just in the life eternal.*

Manner in which the Hebrews expressed a blessed person. Blessings of heaven will have respect to the understanding, the will, the memory, the senses. All that is man, shall live in a perpetual state of beatitude. To begin with the life and joy of the understanding. The blessed, besides a supreme and clear knowlege of the Creator, shall know the divine mysteries, the secrets of Providence, the framing of the world, the whole artifice of nature, &c. What joy were it to behold all the wise men of the world, and the principal inventors of arts and sciences, together! and what journeys would a person make for this purpose! What then shall be the joy of the blessed, when each person shall see his own understanding furnished with that true and perfect wisdom, of which theirs was but a shadow? This topic enlarged on. In heaven we shall not only joy in the me-

mory of those things wherein we have pleased God, but in that of the troubles and dangers we have passed. There, also, shall live the will, rejoicing to see all its desires accomplished, &c.: this topic enlarged on. Besides the powers of the soul, the senses also shall live, nourished with the food of most proportionate and delightful objects: this enlarged on. The humanity of Christ, our Redeemer, is to be the principal joy of all the senses: this explained. Blessed souls shall be crowned with some particular joys, of which the very angels are not capable: this explained. State of glory, in which the bodies of the blessed shall exist, dilated on. Finally, the servants of Christ shall then be so replenished with all goods, both of soul and body, that there shall be nothing more for them to desire. Reflections and exhortations. A prayer.

CHAP. VI.—*Considerations of eternal evils, and of the miserable state of the damned.*

The evils of hell are truly evils, and so purely such, that they have no mixture of good. Poverty of the damned, or their want of all good, dilated on. This accompanied by a most opprobrious infamy and dishonor. This illustrated strongly by an example. Still more ignominious is the state of a Christian condemned to hell: this shown. Place of punishment allotted to the wicked described. Places of human torture compared with it, and shown to be tolerable by the comparison. No liberty of locomotion to be allowed to the tormented spirits. Reflections. A prayer.

CHAP. VII.—*Of the slavery and pains eternal.*

THE slavery of the damned in hell is such, that all their senses, all their powers of soul and body, are subject to eternal pains and torments: this dilated on. As slaves on earth are whipped and punished by their masters, so the slaves of hell are tormented by the devils. Pains, as they affect the differ-

ent senses, enlarged on. Pain of fire. Strange and horrible confusion which shall possess and convulse the appetites of those wretched beings. Reflections and exhortations.

CHAP. VIII.—*The pains of the powers of an immortal soul.*

The imagination shall afflict those miserable offenders, increasing the pains of the senses by the liveliness of its apprehension. If in this life it operates so powerfully, what shall be its effects in the next? this topic enlarged on. Manner in which the will shall be tormented, described. Exhortations. Manner in which the memory shall torment sinners. How the understanding shall be a torment. Horrors of the worm of conscience, engendered in the soul, described. Hell a living death: this enlarged on. Reflections and exhortations. A prayer.

CHAP. IX.—*The fruit which may be drawn from the consideration of eternal evils.*

All that has been said on the pains in hell, is far short of what they really are. Great difference between the knowlege we have by relation, and that which we learn by experience. The principal fruits which may be drawn from a consideration of what has been said respecting the eternal pains of hell, are, first, an ardent love and gratitude to our Creator, that, although we have so often deserved them, he has not suffered us to fall into them. Secondly, we are taught patience in the troubles and afflictions of this life; that by enduring them thankfully, we may escape those of the other. Lastly, we may draw from the consideration of hell, a perfect hatred of all mortal sin; since from the evil of sin proceeds that evil of pain.

CHAP. X.—*The infinite guilt of mortal sin, by which we lose the felicity of heaven, and fall into eternal evils.*

Foulness and malignity of mortal sin detailed. Irreverence towards God in it, apparent from what St. Paul calls it,

kicking or spurning the Son of God: this topic enlarged on. And as sin is grievous in its own nature, so is it much increased by the circumstances which attend it: this shown. If we look where, or in what place, a sinner presumes to sin, and become a traitor to his God, it is even in his own world, in his own house, where it is known that God sees him, &c. The heinous malice of sin is shown to be much augmented by the helps which a sinner uses to effect it; also by the reason why a sinner thus offends his God, as well as by the manner of his sinning. What can be greater scorn and contempt of God, who is worthy of all honor and love, than to adhere to Satan, our professed enemy? this topic enlarged on. Considerations about what we commit sin and offend God. Lastly, considerations about whom we offend. Concluding reflections.

CONTEMPLATIONS

OF

THE STATE OF MAN.

BOOK I.

Chap. I.—*Contemplations on time, and of the state of man in this life.*

All philosophers, who have thought of the nature of time, and who, with much subtlety, have disputed what it was, at length come to conclude that they know not what it is. The most they can reach unto is, that no time is long; and that only can be called time which is present, the which is but a moment. And how can that be said to be, since the only cause why it is, is because it shall not be, but is to pass into the preterite, so as we cannot affirm it to have a being? The being of time consists only of a succession of instants, or transitory beings, subsisting only by a flux of moments, and changes as many faces as it contains instants. It slides out of his hands that strives to hold it. In naming of it, we lose it; so subtle it is by nature, that it were to weigh the fire, and measure the wind, to strive to stay this Proteus. In an instant he vanisheth; and while you think to show him with your finger, he is gone. We have only a moment in our power, and a moment which is lost in the very instant in which we think to grasp it. See, then, what it is to trust unto human life, since it is a member of that which is so inconstant and rapid as time, which runs and passes away according to the course of the sun, and revolutions of the stars in the firmament. Know, then, that death follows thee not with

leaden fect; it runs after thee with a motion equal to that of the stars, whose swiftness is so prodigious, that, according to the more moderate account of Clavius, they run in one day more than a thousand seventeen millions and a half of leagues, and in one hour more than forty-two millions. After this rate doth Death pursue thee. How is it that thou tremblest not? How comes it that thou fearest not? Even life itself is given to us but by pieces, and mingles as many parts of death as there are of life. The age of infancy dies when we enter into that of childhood; and that of childhood when we become youths; that of youth when we come to age of manhood; that, when we are old; and even old age itself expires when we become decrepit. So that, during the same life, we find many deaths, and yet can hardly persuade ourselves that we shall die once. Let us cast our eyes on our life past; let us consider what is become of our infancy, childhood, and youth; they are now dead in us. In the same manner shall those ages of our life, which are to come, die also. Neither do we only die in the principal times of life; but every hour, every moment, includes a kind of death in the succession and change of things. What content is there in life, which dies not by some succeeding sorrow? What affliction of pain, which is not followed by some equal or greater grief than itself? Why are we grieved for what is absent, since it offends us being present? What we desire with impatience, being possessed, brings care and solicitude, grief and affliction.

The short time which any pleasure stays with us, it is not to be enjoyed wholly, and all at once, but tasted by parts; so as, when the second part comes, we feel not the pleasures of the first, lessening itself every moment, and we ourselves still dying with it; there being no instant of life wherein death gains not ground of us. The motion of the heavens is but the swift turn of the spindle, which rolls up the thread of our lives; and a most fleet horse, on which death runs post after us. There is no moment of life, wherein death hath not equal jurisdiction; and there is no point of life which we divide not with death; so as, if well considered, we live but only one point, and have not life but for the present instant. Our years past are now

vanished, and we enjoy no more of them than if we were already dead: the years to come we live not, and possess no more of them than if we were not yet born. Yesterday is gone; to-morrow we know not what shall be; of to-day many hours are past, and we live them not; others are to come, and whether we shall live them or no, is uncertain; so that, all counts cast up, we live but this present moment, and in this also we are dying; so that we cannot say that life is any thing but the half of an instant, an indivisible point, divided betwixt it and death.

With reason may this life be called the shadow of death, since, under the shadow of life, death steals on us; and as, at every step the body takes, the shadow takes another, so, at every pace our lives move forward, death equally advances with it. And as eternity is ever in beginning, and is therefore a perpetual beginning, so life is ever ending and concluding, and may therefore be called a perpetual end, and a continual death. There is no pleasure in life, which, although it should last twenty continued years, can be present with us longer than an instant; and with such counterpoise, that in it death no less appeareth than life is enjoyed.

If a man were lord of infinite worlds, and possessed infinite riches, if they were at last to end, and he to leave them, they were to be valued as nothing; and if all things temporal have this evil property, to fade and perish, they ought to have no more esteem than if they were not.

O miserable condition of human nature! Vain is all we live without Christ. 'All flesh is grass, and all the glory of it as the flower of the field.' Where is now that comely visage? Where is now the dignity of the whole body, with which, as with a fair garment, the beauty of the soul was once clothed? Ah, pity! the lily is withered, the purple of the violet turned into paleness. Therefore let us consider what in time must become of us, and what, will we or will we not, cannot be far off. For should our lives exceed the term of nine hundred years, and that the days of Methuselah were bestowed on us; yet all the length of life once past (and pass it must) were nothing; and betwixt him who lives but ten years, and him who lives a

thousand, the end of life, and the unavoidable necessity of death once come, all is the same, save only, he who lives longer departs heavier laden with sins.

Vain are all honors, vain are the applauses, the riches, and pleasures of life, which, being itself so short and so frail, makes all things vain which depend on it, and so becomes itself a vanity of vanities, and a universal vanity. What account wouldst thou make of a tower founded on a quicksand? Or what safety wouldst thou hope for in a ship bored with holes? Certainly thou oughtest to give no more esteem unto the things of this world, since they are founded on a thing so unstable as this life. What can all human things be, since life, which sustains it, hath, according to David, no more consistence than smoke; or, according to Aquinas, than a little vapor, which in a moment vanisheth? Although it should endure a thousand years, yet, coming to an end, it were equal to that which lasteth but a day; for as well the felicity of a long as a short life is but smoke and vanity, since they both pass away, and conclude in death.

Guerricus, a most famous divine, hearing the 5th chapter of Genesis read, wherein are recounted the sons and descendants of Adam, in these terms: 'The whole life of Adam was nine hundred and thirty years, and he died; the life of his son Seth was nine hundred and twelve years, and he died,' and so of the rest,—began to think with himself, that if such and so great men, after so long a time, ended in death, it was not safe to lose more time in this world, but so to secure his life, that, losing it here, he might find it hereafter. What can the delights of man be, since his life is but a dream, a shadow, and as the twinkling of an eye? If the most long life be short, what can be the pleasures of that moment by which is lost eternal happiness? O how vain are men, who, seeing life so short, endeavor to live long, and not to live well! since it is a thing most certain, that every man may live well; but no man, what age soever he attains unto, can live long. Every day we die, and every-day we lose some part of life; and in our growth, our life decreases and grows less; and this very day wherein we live, we divide with death. Our life, in the Book of Wisdom, is compared unto the passing of a shadow, which, as it

may be said to be a kind of night, so life may be said to be a kind of death; for as the shadow hath some part of light, some of darkness, so our life hath some part of death, and some of life, until it comes to end in a pure death; and since it is to end in a not being, it is very little to be regarded, especially compared with eternity, which hath a being constant and for ever. The shadow, wheresoever it passes, leaves no track behind it; and of the greatest personages in the world, when they are once dead, then there remains no more than if they had never lived. How many preceding emperors in the Assyrian monarchy were lords of the world as well as Alexander! and now we remain not only ignorant of their monument, but know not so much as their names. And of the same great Alexander, what have we at this day, except the vain noise of his fame? There is nothing constant in this life. The moon hath every month her changes; but the life of man hath them every day, every hour. Now he is sick, now in health; now sorrowful, now merry, now fearful. With what imaginations is he afflicted! With how many labors and toils does he daily wrestle! With what thoughts and apprehensions doth he torment himself! What dangers of soul and body doth he run into! What vanity is he forced to behold! What injuries to suffer! What necessities and afflictions! Nay, such is our whole life, that it seems unto me little less evil than that of hell, but only for the hope we have of heaven. Our infancy is full of ignorance and fears, our youth of sin, our age of sorrow, and our whole life of dangers. There is none content with his condition, but he who will die whilst he lives; insomuch as life cannot be good, unless it must resemble death. Since, therefore, the whole time of this life is so short, and we know not how long it will last, let us resolve not to lose the opportunity of gaining eternity. Although we were certain to live yet a hundred years longer, we ought not to spare one minute from the gaining of eternity; but being uncertain how long we are to live, and perhaps shall die to-morrow, how can we be so careless as to let the securing of our glory pass, which hereafter will never be offered? Consider what an eternal repentance will follow thee, if thou makest not use of the occasion of time for the purchasing of the kingdom of heaven; especially when thou

shalt see, that with so little ado thou mightest have gained that everlasting glory, which, to satisfy a short pleasure, thou hast lost for ever.

O eternal God, who dwellest in eternity, whose power is eternal, and whose kingdom is the kingdom of all ages! Take me by thy right hand; O Lord, conduct me to thy eternal glory. Let me esteem all things as nothing in respect of eternity. Grant, O Lord, that I may so pass through things temporal, that I do not finally lose the eternal. Amen.

CHAP. II.—*All things on this side heaven are inconstant and transitory.*

As time itself is in a perpetual succession, and mutation being the companion of motion; so it fixes this ill condition unto most of those things which pass along in it, the which not only have an end, and that a short one; but even during the shortness of time which they last, have a thousand changes; and before their ends, many ends; and before their deaths, many deaths; each particular change which our life suffers, being the death of some estate, or part of it. For as death is the total change of life, every change is the death of some part. Sickness is the death of health, sleeping of waking, sorrow of joy, impatience of quiet, youth of infancy, age of youth. The same condition hath the universal world, and all things in it; so that all things which follow time, and even time itself, at last must die. All human things, as well intrinsically, and of their own nature, as by external violences which they suffer, are subject to perish. The fairest flower withers of itself, yet is oftentimes before borne away by the wind, or perishes by some storm of hail. The most exact beauties lose their lustre by age, but are often before blasted by some violent fever. The strongest and most sumptuous palaces decay with continuance, if before not ruined by fire or earthquake. Cast your eyes on those things which men judge most worthy to endure, and made them to the end they should be eternal; how many changes and deaths have they suffered!

Gregory of Nazianzen* placed the city of Thebes in Egypt

* Nazian. in Monod. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

as the chiefest of those wonders which the old world admired. Most of the houses were of alabaster marble, spotted with drops of gold, which made them appear most splendid and magnificent. On the walls were many pleasant gardens; the gates no fewer than a hundred, out of which the prince could draw forth numerous armies without noise. Pomponius Mela* writes, that out of every port there issued ten thousand armed men, which, in the whole, came to be an army of a million; yet all this huge multitude could not secure it from a small army conducted by a youth, who took and destroyed it.

Marcus Polus† writes, that he passed by the city of Quinsay, which contained fourscore millions of souls; and Nicholas de Conti, passing, not many years after, by the same way, found the city wholly destroyed, and begun to be newly built after another form. But yet greater than this was the city of Nineveh, which was of three days journey; and it is now many ages since that we know not where it stood. No less stately, but perhaps better fortified, was the city of Babylon; and that which was the imperial city of the world became a desert, an habitation of harpies, satyrs, and monsters; and the walls, which were two hundred feet in height, and fifty in breadth, could not defend it from time.

It is not much that cities have suffered so many changes, since monarchies and empires have done the same; and so often hath the world changed her face, as she hath changed her monarch and master. He who had seen the world as it was in the time of the Assyrians, would not have known it as it was in the time of the Persians; and he who knew it in the time of the Persians, would not have judged it for the same when the Greeks were masters. After, in the time of the Romans, it appeared with a face not known before; and he who knew it then, would not know it now; and some years hence it will put on another form, being in nothing more like itself than in its perpetual changes. Therefore nothing doth more deserve our scorn and contempt, and more now than ever, since it becomes every day worse, and grows old, and decays with age. Neither

* Pomp. Mel. lib. i. c 9. Evag. lib. ii. c. 1.

† Polus, lib. ii. Rerum Indic. c. 68.

is the world only grown worse in the natural frame of it, but is also much defaced in the moral. The manners of men have altered it more than the violences and encounters of the elements.

How many kingdoms were overthrown by the covetousness of Cyrus! The ambition of Alexander did not only destroy a great part of the world, but made it put on a clear other face than it had before. That which time spares, is often snatched away by the covetousness of the thief: and how many lives are cut off by revenge, before they arrive unto old age!

There is no stability in any thing, and least in man, who is not only changeable in himself, but changes all things besides.

One day often makes an end of great riches. Many personages of great honor and esteem, changing their fortune, become infamous. Dionysius was thrust from his throne, from a king of Sicily, to be a schoolmaster in Corinth, and taught boys. Who could think that from a king he should be necessitated to become a schoolmaster? Who would not wonder at the cozenage of the world, that should see him in his royal palace, with a sceptre in his hand, compassed about with his servants and the great ones of his kingdom, and should after behold him in his school, managing a rod in the midst of a number of boys? Crœsus, the most rich king of Lydia, being in hope to overthrow the Persians, not only lost his own kingdom, but fell into the power of his enemies, and failed but little of being burnt alive. Particular persons are not only witnesses that all human things are dreams, but cities, nations, and kingdoms; nothing remains like itself. All things present are more frail and weak than the webs of spiders, and more deceitful than dreams. From this inconstancy of human things we may extract a constancy for ourselves; first, by despising things so transitory; secondly, by a resolute hope of an end or change in our adversity and afflictions, since nothing here below is constant, but all mutable; and as things sometimes change from good to evil, so they may also from evil unto good.

There is no confidence to be placed in human prosperity; for neither kingdom, empire, nor any greatness whatsoever can secure their owners from ruin and misfortunes. Behold Andronicus clothed in purple, adored by nations, commanding the

East, his temples enriched with a royal diadem, the imperial sceptre in his hands, and his very shoes studded with oriental gems. Presently after he is insulted over by the basest of his people, buffeted by women, and pelted with dirt and stones in his imperial city; and, lastly, they hung him up by the heels betwixt two pillars, and there left him to die. This is enough to make us contemn all temporal goods and human felicity, which not only pass away with time, but often change into greater misfortunes. What esteem can that merit, which stands exposed to so much misery, which is by so much the more sensible to the sufferer by how much it was less expected?

The emperor Vitellius, whom the East and West acknowleged to be the great monarch of the world, was in Rome saluted with so glorious titles, that he seemed to be all he could desire less than a god; but wherein ended all his majesty, but in the greatest infelicity and misery that can be imagined? The people, having violently seized on him, tied a rope about his neck and his hands behind him, tore his garments from his back, and stuck a dagger under his chin; they hauled him ignominiously up and down the streets of Rome, cast filth in his face, and reviled him with a thousand injurious speeches, and at last killed him in the market-place, and threw him down the Gemonies, where they used to fling the corpses of malefactors. Folly is all human greatness, since at last it must end, and perhaps in a disastrous and unhappy conclusion.

Who would have imagined that Valerianus the emperor, who was mounted on his brave courser, trapped with gold, clad in purple, crowned with the imperial diadem, adored by nations, and commanding over kingdoms, should be taken prisoner by the king of Persia, be kept enclosed in a cage like some wild beast, used as a footstool for the king to get on horseback? But such contrary fortunes happen in human life. Let us not therefore trust in it. Crowns or sceptres do not secure us from the inconstancy of changes; and we may better trust unto the wind, or to letters written on water, than unto human felicity.

The changes of fortune are but exchanges of one condition for another. No man can fall when he is at lowest; and the lowest and basest of all things is human felicity, which

when it quits us, we fall not, but change it, and perhaps for the better. The life of man is a lamentable tragedy, wherein we observe such contrary extremes. I know all human greatness is vanity; therefore I will never grieve for the loss of that which was nothing. That is not worthy of grief, which deserves not love. Things below, as they merit not my affections when I enjoy them, so they ought not to vex and afflict me when I lose them.

What are imperial diadems? What are thrones and majesty? What are ornaments of gold and silver? All are vanity, and vanity of vanities. What were then the spectacles of the amphitheatre, the games of the circus, and the seignory of the world, but vanity of vanities, universal vanity? The same would Crœsus have preached from the flames, Bajazet from his cage, and Dionysius from his school. If we had the opinion of those persons who are now damned, what would they think of majesty which they enjoyed in this life? Vanity! they will say it is a smoke, a dream, a shadow. Where is now the splendor of the consulate? Where the lictors and their fasces? Where the crowns and tapestry? Where the banquets and revels? All those things are perished; a boisterous wind hath blown away the leaves, and left the naked trees tottering, and almost plucked up by the roots. Where are the seven wonders of the world? Where is Nero's golden palace? Where are Dioclesian's hot baths? Where is Julius's Colossus, or Pompey's amphitheatre? They are all gone; there is no print of them remaining. And if we consider the greatness of this world, we shall perceive, that by how much it is more glorious, by so much it is more vain. What greater majesty than that of the Roman emperor? Yet scarce was the election of a Roman emperor known, before he was murdered. Amongst nineteen or twenty emperors who passed betwixt Antoninus the philosopher and Claudius the second, not one escaped a violent death. So, as the greatest felicity of the world was tied to the greatest mishap, therefore Dionysius, to express the miseries and infelicities of the lives of kings, said, "It was like that of condemned persons who every hour expect death."—"O crown!" said king Antigonus, more noble than happy, "if men knew how full thou art of cares and dangers, no man would take

thee up, though he should find thee in the streets!" And Constantine the Great, who was arrived at the height of human felicity, said, "his life was something more honorable than that of shepherds, but much more troublesome." There is no felicity on earth which carries not its counterpoise of misfortunes; no happiness which mounts so high, that is not depressed by some calamity.

The felicity of this life is but a shadow of true happiness; for the shadow is not a body, but a resemblance of a body; and seeming to be something, is nothing. The inconstancy and speedy change of human things deserves this name, because the shadow is always altering, and ends on a sudden: and as the shadow, when it is at length, and can increase no farther, is nearest to the end; so temporal goods and human fortunes, when they are mounted up as high as the stars, are then nearest to vanish and disappear suddenly. Those who work in prospective will so paint a room, that the light entering only through some little hole, you shall perceive beautiful and perfect figures and shapes; but if you open the windows, and let in a full light, at most you shall see but some imperfect lines and shadows. So things of this world seem great and beautiful unto those who are in darkness, and have but little light of heaven; but those who enjoy the perfect light of truth and faith, find nothing in them of substance.

The things of this world are not only a shadow, but are very deceitful. They promise us goods, and give us evils; promise us ease, and give us cares; promise us security, and give us danger; promise us great contents, and give us great vexations. There is no felicity on earth, no happiness which mounts so high, which is not depressed by some low calamity. It is not needful to attend the end of life to see the imposture of it; it is enough to see the alterations whilst it lasts. Be assured that vain is all the greatness of the earth, if that of heaven be not gained by it. Since that all kingdoms, empires, honors, and greatness whatsoever are but a shadow, and will presently vanish, and we are here in this world but as in an inn, from whence we are suddenly to depart, let us take care for our journey, and furnish ourselves with provision and a viaticum for eternity; let us clothe ourselves with such garments as we may carry along with

us. This may be our comfort, that our wealth, whether we will or no, may be taken from us; but eternal happiness, unless by our fault, cannot. We may be deprived of honors against our wills, but not of our virtue, except we consent. Temporal goods may perish, be stolen, and lost many ways; but spiritual goods can only be forsaken, and are then only lost when we leave them by our sins. The roses of glory in heaven do never fade, nor doth custom dull the lively taste of those celestial delights. Let us therefore convey our riches here through the hands of the poor, in bills of exchange, into the eternity of glory, where such money is current; for our good works will follow us. I will therefore preserve myself in humility; I will not confide in prosperity, nor presume on my virtues, though never so great, since every man is subject to fall into those misfortunes he little thinks of. I will not trust in life, because it may fail whilst the goods of it remain; and will as little trust in them, because they may likewise fail whilst it continues.

Blessed Lord! thou art my salvation, thou art my glory, my aid, and all my hope is in thee. At thy right hand there are riches, greatness, and power, for ever without end.

CHAP. III.—*All sublunary things are contemptible, and of no value.*

The things of this world, though their vanity, which swells and blows them up, seems to extend and engreaten them, yet they are in themselves contemptible and little. Those things which seem to make the greatest noise, are honor, fame, and renown. We shall see how narrow they are. And hear one who was placed in the highest degree of glory and dignity in the whole world, since he was lord of it, the emperor Marcus Antoninus, who speaks in this manner:—"Perhaps thou art solicitous of honor; behold how quickly oblivion blots out all things; behold a chaos of eternity both before and after."

How vain is the noise of fame! How great the inconstancy and uncertainty of human judgments and opinions! In how narrow a compass are all things enclosed! The world is but a point, and of it how small a corner is inhabited! And who, and how many, are those in it who are to praise thee? He who desires fame and honor after death, thinks not that he who is

to remember him shall shortly die also; and in the same manner he who is to succeed after him, until that all memory, which is to be propagated by mortal men, be blotted out. But suppose that those who are to remember thee were immortal, what could it import thee, being dead? Nay, being alive, what could it profit thee to be praised? All that is fair is fair of itself, and is perfected within itself; and to be praised is no part of the beauty.

Consider the vanity of those titles which many have assumed, only to make themselves known in the world. Let us judge how it will fare with us of Europe, by those who have taken titles on them in Asia; for if the fame of those in Asia arrive not to the knowlege of us in Europe, no more shall ours in Europe to theirs in Asia.

The name of Echebar* was thought by his subjects to be eternal, and that all the world did not only know but fear him. But ask here, in Europe, who he was, and no man hath heard of him. Demand of the most learned, and few shall resolve you that he reigned in Mogor.

How few have heard of the name of Vencatapadino Ragium! He imagined that there was no man in the world who knew him not. How many can tell me that he was the king of Narsinga? If, then, these warlike and potent princes are not known in Europe, no more shall Charles the Fifth, and many other excellent men in arms and literature, who have florished in these parts, be known in Asia and Africa.

If we reflect on the truth of those titles which many arrogate unto themselves, we shall perceive them all to be vain. How many are called "highness," and "excellence," who are of a base and abject spirit, and continue in mortal sin, which is the meanest and lowest thing in the world! How many are called *serenissimi*, who have their understanding darkened, and their will perverted! Others call themselves "most magnificent," with as much reason as Nero might be called "most clement." The things wherein we have placed honor, make it most ridiculous. Some think they should be valued and esteemed because they are strong; not remembering that a bear, a bull, or a sumpter

* Jarric, in Thesaur. Indic.

mule, is stronger than they. Some, because they are richly clad, become mighty proud and puffed up; not being ashamed to be more esteemed for the work of a mechanic tailor, than for their virtuous actions. Others think to be honored for their dishonors, bragging of their vices. Others boast of the nobility of their blood without looking on virtue, and so make that a vice which was to oblige them to noble actions; converting that which was to be their honor, into infamy; valuing themselves more for being noble, than being virtuous and just.

A man is no greater than what he is in the eyes of God; and the estimation which God hath of us, is not for being born in a palace, but for being righteous and just. What an error is it, then, to value ourselves more for our human birth, by which we are made sinners, than for our divine birth, by which we are made just! How foolish were he, who, being the son of a king and bond-woman, should esteem himself more for being the son of a slave than of a monarch! More fool is he who values more the nobility of his blood in being a gentleman, than the nobility of his soul in being a Christian. All honors of the earth are but splendid vanities, and those who seek after them are like boys who hunt after butterflies. Yet many souls have perished by them. If David cursed the mountains of Gilboa, because Saul and Jonathan died on them, with much more reason may we curse the high mountains of honor, on which so many souls have been sure to perish.

Let us consider what riches are, unto which Gregory Nazianzen did much honor when he called them a precious dung. Truly in themselves they are not much better. Gold and silver, said Antoninus the philosopher, are nothing else than excrements and dregs of the earth. What are precious stones but shining pebbles, some red, some green, &c.; silk, but the slaverings of worms; and the finest Hollands, and the purest linen, but threads of certain plants? Other webs of esteem are made of hair of beasts; whereof if we should meet one in our meat, would make us loathe it; and many in their clothes are proud of them. Furs, what are they but the skins of contemptible vermin? Civet, but the sweat of a cat near its most noisome parts? Amber, but the uncleanness of a whale, or something which the sea purges from it, as not worthy to be preserved?

What are possessions, palaces, cities, provinces, and spacious kingdoms? They are only toys of men, who, though old, are but children in esteeming so much of them. Lucian, beholding them, not from the imperial heaven, but from the sphere of the moon, said, "all Greece possessed not above four fingers; and that Peloponnesus was no bigger than a lentil-seed." To Seneca the whole compass of the earth seemed but a point, and all the greatness thereof only matter of sport. Riches were invented for the ease and commodity of life; but as man hath made them, they serve for the greatest trouble and vexation. He who hath wealth hath most want, because he not only needs for himself, but for all which he possesseth: so that he who hath a great house, hath the same necessities that his house hath, which are many: for a great house requires much furniture and a large family, and so charges the master with multitudes of servants, great quantities of plate, hangings, and other ornaments superfluous to use and human commodity: insomuch as none are more poor than the rich; because they want, not only for themselves, but for all that is theirs. At least, riches want not this incommodity, that although they were invented for human use and ease, yet he that hath them in the greatest abundance, hath the greatest cares, troubles, dangers, and ever the greatest losses. Let us, therefore, while we have time, make over our riches; let us send them before us into another world. Heaven stands open to receive them; we need not doubt of safe carriage; the carriers are very faithful and trusty; they are the poor and needy of this world. We make over unto them here, by way of exchange, a few things of little value; being to receive in heaven, for them, an exceeding eternal weight of glory.

How narrow is the sphere of all our pleasures, which, besides the short time they endure, are mingled with wormwood of many pains and griefs! The adulterer, how many troubles and dangers does he usually pass before he compass his desire! in the enjoying, what fears and suspicions assault him! and when it is past, if he thinks seriously of his sin, what remorse and repentance afflict him! And, oftentimes, how many long diseases and sharp pains succeed that which lasted but a moment! The several sorts of gusts, whereof the touch is capable, exceed not

two or three; but the distinct sorts of pains which afflict it are without number. The greatest pleasure of the sense holds no comparison with the grief endured by the separation of a member, or the pain suffered by him who hath the stone, sciatica, or some violent disease in extremity.

What shall we say of the royal and imperial dignity, which seems, in human judgment, to embrace all the happiness of the world? Honors, riches, pleasures—all are contained in it. But how small is a kingdom, since the whole earth, in respect of the heavens, is no bigger than a point!

Look not on the crown, but on the tempest of cares which accompany it. Fix not thy eyes on the purple, but on the mind of the king, more sad and dark than the purple itself. The diadem doth not more encompass his head, than cares and suspicions his soul. Look not at the squadrons of his guards, but at the armies of his molestations, which attend him: for nothing can be so full of cares as the palaces of kings. But it is far otherwise in heaven, the palace and house of God, where the just, without mixture or counterpoise of misery, are to enjoy those eternally.

If you look on the so-much-esteemed greatness of this world, the brave palaces, renowned cities, large kingdoms, you may compare them to those little houses of sand or dirt made by children for their entertainment, which men stand by and laugh at; and oftentimes, if their parents or masters find that it hinders them from learning their lessons, they strike them down with their feet, and destroy that in a moment which hath cost the boys much time and labor. So God useth to deal with those, who, neglecting his service, employ themselves in scraping together riches, enlarging their possessions, building of palaces, which he destroys with that ease as if they were those little houses of sand made by children. And, certainly, more children are they who set their hearts on the greatness of this short life, than those who busy themselves in walls of dirt.

Esteem none for his exterior lustre and bravery: he must die as well as the most poor and unknown beggar; he must be buried, and at last appear before the just judgment. Wherefore dost thou, then, value and admire those things which have no consistence, as if they were to last for ever?

If you look on a table, where you behold painted a rich and powerful man and a poor contemptible beggar, you neither envy the one, nor despise the other; because you know them to be shadows, and no truths. The same judgment we ought to make of the things themselves; for all are but shadows, and little more than nothing. And as, in a comedy or farce, it imports little who plays Alexander, and who the beggar, since all are equal when the play is done; so are all after death.

I will therefore from hence learn not to admire the grandeur of this world, nor to desire any thing in it. I have an inheritance in heaven which none can take from me; there I have a mansion not made by the hands of men. I will look after those eternal goods which by my faith and hope I do now enjoy: they can never be taken from me, for they are the eternal inheritance of the just.

Chap. IV.—*The vanity of man.*

If we consider the greatest thing in nature, which is man, we shall see how vain and little he is, being temporal. What is man? saith Seneca. A frail vessel, broken with the least motion; a most weak body, naked by nature, and unarmed; subject to the injuries of fortune; composed of things infirm and fluid: and those very things, without which man cannot live, as smell, taste, meat and drink, are mortal unto him. The wise Solon did not answer more favorably, when they demanded of him what was man. "He is," saith he, "a corruption in his birth, a beast in his life, and food for worms when he is dead." He does things evil, which are not lawful; things filthy, which are not decent; things vain, which are not expedient. Behold the plants and trees, they produce flowers, haws, and fruits; man nothing but vermin and worms: they furnish us with oil, wine, and balsam; man affords nothing but phlegm and ordure: those send forth a fragrant odor, and man abominable stink. And such is man even in his youth and best time; but if he reach old age, which is esteemed as a felicity, his heart is afflicted, his head shakes, his spirits languish, his breath smells, his face wrinkles, his stature bends, his eyes wax dim, his hands tremble, his hair falls, and his ears grow deaf. Neither is he more changed in body than in mind. An old man is easily dis-

pleased, hardly pacified, believes quickly, covetous, froward, still complaining, admires what is past, contemns what is present; sighs, grieves, languishes, and is always infirm.

Consider also wherein man ends. What thing more noisome than a human carcass? What more horrible than a dead man? He, whose embraces were most acceptable when he was alive, even his sight is troublesome when he is dead. What do riches and honor profit him? They shall not free him from death, they shall not defend him from the worms, they shall not take away his stink and ill savour. He, who even now was seated in a glorious throne, is now flung into an obscure tomb; he, who lately feasted in a sumptuous *sata*, is now feasted on by worms in a dark sepulchre. Wherefore dost thou wax proud, dust and ashes! whose conception was in sin, whose birth in misery, whose life in pain, and whose death necessity? Wherefore dost thou swell and adorn thy flesh with precious things, which in few days is to be devoured by worms; and dost not rather adorn thy soul with good works, which is to be presented in heaven before God and his angels?

Besides that, man is a thing poor and mean, and composed of base and vile materials. This vileness and meanness hath no firmness nor consistence, but is a river of changes, a perpetual corruption, and a phantasm of time. His nature, from his birth until his death, is unstable, mutable, and transitory. The more you consider it, the more it flies from you. The embyron which is formed from seed, quickly becomes an infant, from thence a boy, from thence a young man, from thence an old, and then decrepit; and so, the first age being past, and corrupted by new ones which succeed it, it comes at last to die. How ridiculous, then, are men to fear one death, who have already died so many, and yet are to die more! He never remains the same, but in every moment he changes, as it were, with various phantasms in one common matter. If he be still the same, how comes he to delight in things he did not before? He now loves and abhors after another manner than formerly; he now praises and dispraises other things than he did before; he uses other words, and is moved with other affections; he doth not hold the same form, nor pass the same judgment he did; and how is it possible that, without change in himself, he

should thus change in his motions and affections? Certainly, he who still changes is not the same; and he who is not the same, cannot be said to be, but in a continual mutation slides away like water. Where shall we then find true being, but in that only which is eternal, and knows no beginning; which is incorruptible, which is not changed with time?

Man is not only thus vile and base whilst he lives, and much more being dead; but even his soul, whilst it remains in his body, is not of much greater esteem; for although the soul be of itself a most noble substance, yet his vices do so much vilify it, that he makes it more abominable than the body; and without doubt, the soul, when it is dead in mortal sin, is more corrupt and stinking in the sight of the angels than a body dead eight days ago; for if that body be full of worms, this is full of sins and vices; and if a man knew himself well, he would be more affrighted at the misery of his soul than at that of his flesh.

Amongst all evils, man is the worst evil: every beast hath an evil which is peculiar unto it, but man is all evils. The devil dares not approach a just man, but man dares despise him. Man is compared to the beasts of the field. It is worse to be compared to a beast than to be one: for it is no fault to be born an unreasonable creature; but to be endowed with reason, and to be compared to a beast, is a fault of the will, so as this untamed passion makes him worse than beasts.

What sorts of deaths and torments hath not human cruelty found out! What sorts of poison hath not the passion of man invented! Orpheus, Orus, Medisius, Hesiodotus, and other authors, have found out five hundred several ways of giving poison covertly, which have since been, to the calamity of man, wonderfully increased. Nothing is now secure from the malice of man, since poison hath been given even in the shaking of hands, when men were to be reconciled and made friends. Only in the sense of hearing it hath not yet found a door to enter; all the rest of the senses it hath mastered. With the smell of a rose, with the sight of a letter, with the touch of a thread, with the taste of a grape, death hath found an entrance.

And as though man were not miserable enough by nature, his very passions must contribute to make him wretched and

unhappy. The proud man grieves and consumes for the felicity of another; the envious dies to see a happy man live; the covetous man loses his sleep for what he hath no need of; the choleric man ruins himself for what no way concerns him. With reason did the prophet say, 'In vain doth man trouble himself, and, before he attains rest, is overwhelmed; he mounts on high like a tempest, and like dust is scattered and disappears; he is kindled like a flame, and vanishes like smoke; he spreads himself as a cloud, and is contracted as a drop.' He is troubled to gain the filth of riches, and a little dirt: his are the troubles, others the joys; his are the cares, others the contents; his are the curses, others the respect and reverence. The life of man is full of vain labors, of vexatious thoughts, thinking how to obtain what he desires, and then how to keep it; after, how to increase it, then how to defend it, and, lastly, how to enjoy it; and yet, in conclusion, all falls to pieces in the handling, and becomes nothing. What labor doth it cost the poor spider to weave his web, passing incessantly from one part to another, and often returning to the same place where he began,—consuming himself with the threads drawn from his proper entrails for the forming of his pavilion, which with many journeys having placed on high, and at last finished this goodly artifice, one touch of a broom defaces, and brings to the ground all his labor! Just such are the employments of man,—of much toil, and of little profit; spending the most part of his time in useless projects, which of themselves fall to nothing, and in the end vanish without effect.

In vain doth man trouble himself, for he enjoys a life but lent him, and that but for a short time. Man is but a debt of death, which is to be paid without delay. I have considered with tears what man was made of, what he is, and what he shall be. He was made of earth, conceived in sin, and born for punishment. O unhappy condition of human nature! O the vanity and delusions of man! Thou who gloriest in thy strength of body, thou who embracest the gifts of fortune, and thinkest not thyself her servant, but her darling; see how thou mightest have perished, even before thou wert, with so little a thing as the snuff of a candle; and mayest yet with a smaller matter, pricked with a little tooth of an adder; or,

like Anacreon the poet, choked with the stone of a grape; or, like Fabius the Roman senator, suffocated with a hair in a draught of milk. The life of man, compared to the continuance of the world, is but a moment, and the world's continuance is but a moment in respect of eternity.

With good reason, then, is the life of man to be valued as nothing, since nothing is more frail, nothing more perishing, and, in conclusion, is little more than if it had no being at all. Glass, without violence, may last long, but the life of man ends of itself; glass may with care be preserved for many ages, but nothing can preserve the life of man.

All this king David well understood, who was the most powerful and happy prince the Hebrews ever had; yet when he considered that his greatness was to have an end, he valued it as nothing; and not only esteemed his kingdoms and treasures as vanity, but even his life itself; wherefore he says, (Psalm xxxvii.) 'Thou hast put, Lord, a measure unto my days, and my substance is as nothing.' All my kingdoms, all my trophies, all my treasures, all that I possess, all is nothing; and presently adds, 'Doubtless all is vanity.' All which living man is, his whole life is vanity, and nothing that belongs to him so frail as himself.

O, if we could but frame a true conception of the shortness of this life, how should we despise the pleasures of it! This is a matter of such importance, that God commanded the principal of his prophets, that he should go into the streets and market-places, and proclaim aloud that all flesh is grass, and all the glory of it as the flower of the field: for as the grass which is cut in the morning withers before night, and as the flower is quickly faded, so is the life of all flesh, the beauty and splendor of it withering in a day. He who shall look on the frailty of our flesh, and that every moment of an hour we increase and decrease without ever remaining in the same state, and that even what we now speak, dictate, or write, flies away with some part of our life, will not doubt to say his flesh is grass, and the glory of it as the flower of the field. He that was yesterday an infant is now a boy, and will suddenly be a youth; and, even unto old age, runs changing through uncertain conditions of life, and perceives himself first to be an old

man, before he begins to admire that he is not still a boy. Nay, seeing death seizeth on others, yet he will not believe that it shall happen to him; and although he hear of it hourly, yet it appears unto him as a hidden mystery, which he cannot understand. God therefore commanded his prophet Isaiah, that he should proclaim it with a loud voice, as a thing of great importance, and that it might sink into the heart of man. Receive, therefore, this truth from God himself—'All flesh is grass,' all age is short, all time flies, all life vanishes, and a great multitude of years are but a great nothing.

Let us hear how true this is from those who lived the longest, and have had the experience of what it is to live. Perhaps thou mayest promise thyself to live an hundred years, as though this were a long life. Hearken then unto holy Job, who lived two hundred and forty years, who knew best what it was to live; what says he of all his years? 'My days,' saith he, 'are nothing.' Nothing he calls them, although they lasted almost three ages. In other places he says, the life of man is like the flower which springs up to-day, and to-morrow is trodden under foot; and that it flies like a shadow, without ever remaining in the same state. How poor a thing, then, is life, since holy Job calls it but a shadow, though then three or four times longer than at present! Those who lived more than eight hundred years esteemed their life but as a shadow; and, in the instant when they died, judged they were scarcely born. How can we think to live long iu a time wherein it is much to make the age of sixty years! A life then of eight hundred years being no more than the flirting up and down of a little sparrow, the flight of an arrow, or, to say better, the passage of a shadow; what are fifty years, unto which perhaps thou mayest attain? Certainly the longest term whereunto human life extends, was compared by Homer but unto the leaves of the tree, which at most endure but a summer's season. Euripides judged that too much, and said that human felicity was to be valued but at the length of a day; and Demetrius Phalerius allowed it but a moment's space. Consider, then, how vile are all things temporal, and how frail is all the glory of the world, being grounded on so feeble a foundation. The goods of the earth can be no greater than life, which gives them their

value; and if that be so poor and short, what shall they be? What good can be of value, which is sustained by a life so contemptible and full of misery? A figure of this was the statue of Nebuchadnezzar, which, although made of rich metal, as gold and silver, yet was founded on feet of clay, so that a little stone falling on it overthrew it unto the earth. All the greatness and riches of the world have for foundation the life of him who enjoys them, which is so frail and slippery, that not a little stone, but even the grain of a grape, hath been able to ruin and overthrow it.

I shall not therefore be ambitious of a rich mausoleum, after my death, for the repose of my body; nor do I desire a stately sepulchre, or beautiful urn, or that my name or actions should be engraven in marble. I know this; that if I shall be miserable and unhappy hereafter, they will be but for my greater shame and reproach. Out of this life I can carry nothing but my good works: I will not add unto my evil ones that of vainglory. I will take heed whereon I set my heart, since the accomplishing of what I wish may be a punishment of my desires. If those things of the earth which I most love and desire, should continue, if they be taken from me, it is a chastisement of my earthly affection; and if I be permitted to enjoy them, I am fearful that they may be the temporal reward of some good work, which may either diminish or deprive me of the eternal.

Chap. V.—*The miseries of temporal life.*

If man, before he was born, knew what he was to suffer in his life, he would not be born at all. Therefore Silenus, being demanded what was the greatest happiness man was capable of, said, Not to be born, or die quickly. With reason did Democritus say that the life of man was most miserable, since those who seek for good hardly find it, and evil comes of itself, and enters our gates unsought-for: insomuch as our life is always exposed unto innumerable dangers, injuries, losses, and to so many infirmities, that, according to Pliny, and many physicians, Greeks and Arabians, there were more than thirty several sorts of new diseases discovered in the space of a few years; and now every day finds out others, and some so cruel,

that they are not to be named without horror; and the malice of the disease is greater than many times the remedy is strange. Some have been cured by cauterising with fire, by sawing off a member, by trepanning the scull, or drawing bones from it; others have been cured with the opening of the belly, and drawing forth the guts. Above all, the cure of Palæologus the second, emperor of Constantinople, was most cruel, whose infirmity, after a year's continuance, found no other remedy but to be continually vexed and displeased; his wife and servants, who most desired his health, having no way to restore it, but by disobedience, still crossing and opposing him in what he most desired. A harsh cure for a prince! If remedies be so great evils, what are the infirmities? The sickness of Mæcenas was so strange, that he slept not, nor closed his eyes, in three whole years. That of king Antiochus was so pestilential, that his loathsome smell infected his whole army, and his body flowed with lice and vermin. Consider here the end of majesty, when the greatest power on earth cannot defend itself against so noisome and contemptible an enemy. In the same manner Feretrina, queen of the Barcæans; all the flesh of her body turned into maggots and grubs, which, swarming every where, at last consumed her. Some have had serpents bred in their arms and thighs, which have devoured their flesh even whilst they lived. With reason, then, does man enter into the world with tears, as divining the many miseries which he shall have time enough to suffer, but not to lament, and therefore begins to weep so early. All the days of man are full of grief and misery.

What shall I say of those strange pestilential distempers which have destroyed whole cities and provinces? In many places it hath raged with such fury as if it meant to extirpate all mankind. So many thousands of people have died, that whole towns and countries have remained desert. The evil hath been many times so great, that fathers forsook their children, and women their husbands. Riches did not preserve them from dying of hunger. If they found by chance what to eat, the fury of the distemper was such, that they often died with the morsel in their mouths. To all this is human life

subject. Let those, therefore, who are in health and jollity, fear what may befall them.

Famine is no less a misery of man's life than pestilence, which not only particular persons, but whole provinces have often suffered. Many times people, when they had nothing left them to eat, have fed on horses, dogs, cats, rats, dormice, and other vermin, when they could lay hold of them; and, when those failed, ate one another. Nay, fathers spared not their sons, nor women those whom they brought forth; and many would willingly have pawned their bowels, to have had wherewith to feed them. What a horrid prospect is it to see a company of people appearing in the streets more like unto ghosts and phantoms than living men! Others stretched on the ground half dead, and ready to draw the last gasp! What pity is it to behold thousands of women, feeble, pale, and hunger-starved, charged with a great number of their poor languishing infants, who, dried up with hunger, could not so much as weep or demand succour from their sorrowful and afflicted mothers, who could only help them with their compassionate looks, of which rivers of tears, which ran from their eyes, were a sufficient witness! This is a lamentable scene of a most miserable tragedy. All those miseries which fall not under imagination, are found in the life of man.

Greater than all these calamities is that of war, which, of the three scourges of God, wherewith he uses to chastise kingdoms, is the most terrible, as well because it is commonly followed by the other two, as for that it brings along with it greater punishments; and, which is worse, greater sins, whereof plagues are free, in which all endeavour to be reconciled with God, and even those who are in health dispose themselves for death. Famine also, though it brings with it some sins, yet it lessens others; though it be accompanied with many thefts, yet it suits not so much with pride and vanity; neither doth it permit so many sorts of vices as are occasioned by war.

Above all, the greatest calamities of man's life are not pestilence, famine, or war; but human passions not subordinate to reason. What did David suffer from the envy of Saul? Exile, hunger, dangers, and war. Naboth sooner lost his life by

the covetousness of Ahab, than he could have done by a plague. Elias was more afflicted with the desire of revenge in Jezebel, than if he had had the pestilence; for that made him weary of his life, and this would but have made him weary of his disease. What plagues or wars were like the ambition of Herod, who destroyed so many thousand children? What contagion was more mortal than the cruelty of Nero and other tyrants, who took away the lives of so many innocent people to satisfy their fears or fancies?

Who is so happy to content all, and be envied of none? Who is so esteemed, that some do not despise him? Who is so general a well-doer, that nobody complains of him? The Athenians found fault with their Simonides, because he talked too loud. The Thebans accused Panniculus, because he spit too much. The Carthaginians spoke ill of Hannibal, because he went open-breasted, with his stomach bare. Others laughed at Julius Cæsar, because he was ill girt. There is none so upright, in whom envy will not find something to reprehend.

So many are the miseries of life, that they cannot all be numbered. Death, which is thought by some the greatest of evils, is by many esteemed a lesser evil than life; the many evils in this surpassing the greatness of the evil in that: and therefore some have conceived it better to suffer the greatest, which is death, than to suffer so many, though lesser, which are in life. For this reason, one calls death the last and greatest physician; because, though in itself it be the greatest evil, yet it cures all others; and therefore prescribes the hope of it as an efficacious remedy and comfort in the afflictions of life.

What security can there be in life, when the earth, which is the mother of the living, is unfaithful to them, and sprouts out miseries and deaths even of whole cities? What can be secure in the world, if the world itself be not, and the most solid parts of it shake? If that which is only immovable, and fixed to sustain the living, tremble with earthquakes; if what is proper to the earth, which is to be firm, be unstable, and betray us; where shall our fears find a refuge? When the roof of the house shakes, we may fly into the fields; but when the earth shakes, whither shall we go?

In time of the plague we may change places; but from the

whole earth who can fly? And so from dangers; and therefore not to have a remedy, may secure us a comfort in our evils; for fear is foolish without hope. Reason banishes fear in those who are wise; and in those who are not, despair of remedy gives a kind of security, at least takes away fear. He that will fear nothing, let him think all things are to be feared. See what slight things endanger us! Even those which sustain life, lay ambushes for us. Meat and drink, without which we cannot live, take away our lives. It is no wisdom, therefore, to fear swallowing by an earthquake, and not to fear the falling of a tile. In death, all sorts of dying are equal. What imports it whether one single stone kills thee, or a whole mountain oppress thee? Death consists in the soul's leaving the body, which often happens by slight accidents.

Wonderful are the ways which death finds out, and most poor and contemptible those things on which life depends. It hangs not on a thread, but sometimes on so small a thing as a hair. No door is shut to death; it enters where the air cannot enter, and encounters us in the very action of life. Small things are able to deprive us of so great a good. A little grain of a grape took away the life of Anacreon. The affections of the soul, and the pleasures of the body, become the highway unto death. Homer died of grief, and Sophocles of an excess of joy. Dionysius was killed with the good news of a victory which he had obtained. Aurelianus died dancing. Cornelius Gallus and Titus Etherius died in the act of lust.

Let no man assure himself of that life which hath so many entrances for death. Let no man say, I shall not die to-day; for many have thought so, and yet suddenly died that very hour. By so inconsiderable things, as we have said, many have died, and thou mayest die without any of them. For sudden death, there is no need of a hair, or excess of grief, or sudden joy to surprise thee; it may happen without any of those exterior causes. A corrupt humor in the entrails, which flies unto the heart without any body perceiving it, is sufficient to make an end of thee; and it is to be admired that no more die suddenly, considering the disorders of our life, and the frailties of our bodies. We are not of iron or brass, but of soft and delicate flesh. A clock, though of hard metal, in time wears out,

and every hour needs mending, and breaking of one wheel stops the motions of all the rest. There is more artifice in a human body than in a clock, and it is much more delicate. The nerves are not of steel, nor the veins of brass, nor the entrails of iron. How many have had their livers or spleens corrupted or displaced, and have died suddenly! No man sees what he hath within his body; and such may his infirmity be, although he think and feel himself well, that he may die within an hour. Let us all tremble at what may happen!

But Christians, in all the miseries and dangers of human life, have great comforts to lay hold on; which are, a good conscience, hope of glory, conformity unto the divine will, and the imitation and example of Jesus Christ. From these four he shall in life have happiness, in death security, in both comfort, and in eternity a reward.

We may draw from what hath been said, how unjust was the complaint of Theophrastus, that nature hath given a longer life unto many birds and beasts than unto man. If our life were less troublesome, he had some reason; but it being so fraught with miseries, he might rather think that life the happiest which was shortest. Wherefore it is better to die young, and die well, than to die old, and die ill. This voyage being of necessity, the felicity of it consists not in being long, but being prosperous, and that at the last we arrive in the desired port. Therefore, supposing so many miseries, we cannot complain of God for having given us a short life, but of ourselves for having made it a bad one. Our life being compassed with so many miseries, as that death seems rather a shelter for evils than a punishment, God was pleased that it should be short, that the vexations and misfortunes of it, which cannot be counterpoised with any joys of the earth, might be more supportable. At least, if this life, with so many miseries, do not displease us, yet let the eternal, with all its felicities, content us better; and let us not endeavor less for the immortal life in heaven, than we do for this mortal on earth. Let us keep always in mind the years of eternity; so that whatsoever adversity or affliction happen, we shall more easily bear it. 'For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory,' 2 Cor. iv. 17.

Therefore, if the world frown on me; if I meet with many troubles and afflictions; if misfortunes befall me; if they rush on me like waves, one on the neck of another; if I be tossed up and down; then these be my daily thoughts:—Well, let the world have its course; I am content to bear it; God's will be done. Let the sea be troubled; let the waves thereof roar; let the winds of affliction blow; let the waters of sorrow rush on me; let the darkness of grief and heaviness compass me about;—yet will I not be afraid. These storms will blow over; these winds will be laid; these waves will fall; this tempest cannot last long; and these clouds shall be dispelled. Whatsoever I suffer here shall shortly have an end; I shall not suffer eternally. Come the worst that can come, death will put an end to all my sorrows and miseries. *Domine, da mihi modo patientiam, et postea indulgentiam;* "Lord, grant me patience here, and ease hereafter." I will suffer patiently whatever can happen, and shall endeavor to do nothing against my conscience, and displeasing unto thee; for all is safe and sure with him who is certain and sure of blessed eternity.

Chap. VI.—*The end of temporal life.*

If the end of life should fall under our election, and that it were in the power of man to make choice how many years he would continue in life, and after what manner he would have it, and that it might conclude some other way than by death, yet the consideration that it and all things temporal were to perish, and at last to have an end, were sufficient to make us despise it; and that very thought would drown all the pleasure and content which it could afford us. For as all things are of greater and lesser esteem, according to the length and shortness of their duration, so life being to end, be it in what manner soever, is much to be undervalued. A fair vessel of crystal, if it were as consistent and durable as gold, were more precious than gold itself; but being frail, and subject to break, it loses its estimation; and although of itself it might last long, yet being capable, by some careless mischance, of being broken, it becomes of much less value. In the same manner our life, which is much more frail than glass, being subject to perish by a thousand accidents; and as, though none of them should hap-

pen, it could not long continue, since it consumes itself; it must needs, together with those temporal goods which attend it, be most contemptible. But considering that the ending of it is by the way of death; infirmities, and misfortunes, which are the harbingers, and prepare the way for death; it is to be admired that man, who knows he is to die, makes any account of temporal felicity, seeing the misery in which the prosperity of this world, and the majesty of the greatest monarchs, are at last to finish.

Let us consider king Antiochus, lord of so many provinces, in all his pomp and glory, glittering in gold, and dazzling the eyes of the beholders with the splendor of his diamonds and precious jewels, mounted on a stately courser, commanding over numerous armies, and making the very earth tremble under him. Let us then behold him in his bed pale and wan, his strength and spirit spent, his loathsome body flowing with worms and corruption, forsaken by his own people by reason of his poisonous stink, which infected his whole camp, and finally dying mad and in rage. Who, seeing such a death, would wish the felicity of his life? Who, with the condition of his misery, would desire his fortune? See, then, wherein the goods of this life conclude!

Who could have known Cæsar, who had first seen him triumph over the conquered world, and then behold him gasping for a little breath, and weltering in his own blood, which flowed from twenty-three wounds, opened by so many stabs?

Who could believe it was the same Cyrus, he who subdued the Medes, conquered the Assyrian and Chaldean empire,—he who amazed the world with thirty years' success of continued victories,—now taken prisoner, and put to an ignominious death by the command of a woman?

Who could think it were the same Alexander, who in so short a time subjugated the Persians, Indians, and the best part of the known world, and should afterwards behold him conquered by a calenture, feeble, exhausted in body, dejected in spirit, dried up, and parched with thirst, without taste in his mouth, or content in his life; his eyes sunk, his nose sharp, his tongue cleaving to his palate, not being able to pronounce one word? What amazement is it, that the heat of a poor fever

should consume the mightiest power and fortune of the world; and that the greatest of temporal and human prosperities should be drowned by the overflowing of one irregular and inordinate humor! How great a monster is human life, since it consists of so disproportionable parts; the uncertain felicity of our whole life ending in a most certain misery!

Who would marry a woman, though of a comely and well-proportioned body, who had the head of an ugly dragon? Certainly, although she had a great dowry, none would covet such a bedfellow. Wherefore do we wed ourselves unto this life? which, although it seems to carry along with it much content and happiness, yet is in effect no less a monster, since, though the body appear unto us beautiful and pleasant, the end of it is horrible, and full of misery.

Let no man flatter himself with the vigor of his health, with the abundance of his riches, with the splendor of his authority, with the greatness of his fortune; for by how much he is more fortunate, by so much shall he be more miserable, since his whole life is to end in misery.

Let no man be deceived in beholding the prosperity of a rich man; let him not measure his felicity by what he sees at present, but by the end wherein he shall conclude; not by the sumptuousness of his palaces, not by the multitude of his servants, nor by the bravery of his apparel, nor by the lustre of his dignity; but let him expect the end of that which he so much admires, and he shall then perceive him at best to die in his bed, dejected, dismayed, and struggling with the pangs and anxieties of death. If he comes so off, it is well; otherwise the daggers of his enemy, the teeth of some wild beast, or a tile thrown down on his head by some violent wind, may serve to make an end of him when he least thinks of it. O how great a madness is it to glory in any thing on this side heaven! The estate of the most powerful is subject to most impetuous storms, whose end is to be sunk and overthrown. O how wavering and uncertain is the height of the greatest honor! False is the hope of man, and vain is all his glory! O uncertain life, due unto perpetual toil and labor! What doth it now profit thee to have raised so many costly palaces of marble, when thou now must die? O how many things dost thou now think

of doing, not knowing the bitterness of their end! Thou beholdest thy friend now dying, and know that thou also shalt quickly follow him.

Let us forbear to look on those several kinds of death which are incident to human nature. Let us consider that which is esteemed the most happy; when we die not suddenly, or by violence, but by some infirmity which leisurely makes an end of us; or by a pure resolution, which naturally brings death along with it. What greater misery of man's life than this, that death should be accounted happy; not that it is so, but because it is less miserable than others? For what grief and sorrow doth not he pass, who dies in this manner! How do the accidents of his infirmities afflict him! The heat of his fever, which scorches his entrails; the thirst of his mouth, which suffers him not to speak; the pain of his head, which hinders his attention; the sadness of his heart, proceeding from the apprehension that he is to die; besides other grievous accidents, which are usually more in number than the human body hath members to suffer; together with remedies which are no less painful than the evils themselves. To this add the uncertainty whither he is to go, to heaven or hell. What news can be more terrible unto a sinner, than that he is to die, and to leave all his pleasure in death, and to give an account unto God for his life past? If lots were to be cast, whether one should have his flesh plucked off with burning pincers, or be made a king, with what fear and anxiety of mind would that man expect the issue! How, then, shall he look, who, in the agony of his death, wrestles with eternity, and within two hours' space looks for glory or torments without end? What life can be counted happy, if that be happy which ends with so much misery? If we will not believe this, let us ask him who is now passing the terrors of death, what his opinion of life is. Let us now inquire of him, when he lies with his breast sticking forth, his eyes sunk, his feet dead, his knees cold, his visage pale, his pulse without motion, what will this man say his life was, but by how much the more prosperous, by so much the more vain; and that all his felicity was false and deceitful, since it came to conclude in such a period? What would he now take for all the honors of this world? Certainly I believe that he would part with them at an easy rate. Nay,

if they have been offensive to God Almighty, he would give all in his power he never had enjoyed them.

He who, unto the hour of his death, hath enjoyed all the delights the world can give him, at that hour what remains with him? Nothing; or, if any thing, a greater grief. Consider of how little substance all temporal things will appear, when thou shalt be in the light eternal. The honors which they have given thee shall be no more thine; the pleasures wherein thou hast delighted can be no more thine; thy riches are to be another's. See, then, whether the happiness of this life, which is not so long as life itself, be of that value, that for it we should part with eternal felicity.

I beseech thee, ponder what is life, and what is death. Life is the passing of a shadow, short, troublesome, and dangerous; a place which God hath given us in time for the desiring of eternity.

Consider why God leads us about in the circuit of this life, when he might at the first instant have placed us in heaven. Was it that we should spend our time idly, and daily invent new chimeras of vain and frivolous honors? No, certainly it was not; but that, by virtuous actions, we might gain heaven, show what we owe unto our Creator, and, in the midst of the troubles and afflictions of this life, discover how loyal and faithful we are unto our God. For this he placed us in the lists, that we should take his part, and defend his honor; for this he entered us into this militia and warfare, (for the life of man is a warfare on earth) that here we might fight for him, and, in the midst of his and our enemies, show how true and faithful we are to him. Were it fit that a soldier, in the time of battle, should stand disarmed, passing away his time at dice on a drum-head? Thus doth he who seeks his ease in this life, and sets his affections on things of the earth, not endeavoring those of heaven, nor thinking on death, where he is to end.

A peregrination is this life; and what passenger is so besotted with the pleasures of the way, that he forgets the place whither he is to go? How comest thou, then, to forget death, whither thou travellest with speed, and canst not, though thou desirest, rest one small minute by the way? For time, although against thy will, will draw thee along with it. The way of this

life is not voluntary, like that of travellers; but necessary, like that of condemned persons from the prison unto the place of execution. To death thou standest condemned, whither thou art now going. How canst thou laugh?

A malefactor, after sentence past, is so surprised with the apprehension of death, that he thinks of nothing but dying. We are all condemned to die. How come we, then, to rejoice in those things which we are to leave so suddenly?

Death is compared unto a thief, who not only robs us of our treasure and substance, but bereaves us of our lives. Since, therefore, thou art to leave all, why dost thou load thyself in vain? What merchant, knowing that so soon as he arrived unto the port, his ship and goods should be sunk, would charge his vessel with much merchandise? Arriving at death, thou and all thou hast are to sink and perish. Why dost thou then burden thyself with that which is not needful, but rather an hinderance to thy salvation?

This is the salary which the goods of the earth bestow on those who serve them; that if they do not leave or ruin them before their death, they are then certain at least to leave them, and often hazard the salvation of those that dote on them. O vain man! this short life is bestowed on thee for gaining the goods of heaven, which are to last eternally; and you spend it in seeking those of the earth, which are to perish instantly.

Besides all this, though one should die the most happy death that can be imagined, yet behold the dead body, how ugly and noisome doth the miserable carcass remain, that even friends fly from it, and scarce dare stay one night alone with it! The nearest and most obliged kindred procure it in all haste to be carried forth a-doors; and having wrapped it in some coarse sheet, throw it into the grave, and within two days forget it; and he who in life could not be contained in great and sumptuous palaces, is now content with the narrow lodging of seven feet of earth. He who used to lodge in rich and dainty beds, hath for his couch the hard ground; for his mattress, moths; and for his covering, worms; his pillows, at best, the bones of other dead persons: then, heaping on him a little earth, and perhaps a grave-stone, they leave his flesh to be feasted on by worms, whilst his heirs triumph in his riches.

He who gloried in the exercise of arms, and was used to revel at balls, is now stiff and cold, his hands and feet without motion, and all his senses without life. He who, with his power and pride, trampled on all, is now trod under foot by all. Consider him eight days dead, drawn from his grave, how ghastly and horrible a spectacle he will appear! Behold, then, what thou pamperest; a body, which, perhaps, within four days may be eaten by loathsome vermin! Whereon dost thou found thy vain pretensions? which are but castles in the air, founded on a little earth, which turning into dust, the whole fabric falls to the ground. See where all human greatness concludes, and that the end of man is no less loathsome and miserable than his beginning.

The memory of the loathsomeness of a dead body may serve to make us despise the beauty of that which is living. Therefore, if at any time thou shalt be surprised with the temptation of the frail beauty of the flesh, send thy thoughts presently unto the sepulchre of the dead, and let them there see what they can find agreeable to the touch, or pleasing to the sight. Consider that dust and dry ashes were once soft and lively flesh, and in its youth was subject to the like passions as thou art. Consider those rigid nerves, those naked teeth, the disjointed disposition of the bones and arteries, and that horrible dissipation of the whole body. By this means thou mayest take from thy heart those vain deceits and illusions.

All this is certainly to happen unto thyself. Wherefore dost thou not amend thy evil condition? This is to be thy end; unto this, therefore, direct thy life and actions. With reason had the Brahmins their sepulchres still placed open before their doors, that by the memory of death they might learn to live. Wisdom is the meditation of death; therefore ever have in thy thoughts that meditation, "Remember thou art to die."

Therefore, whatsoever misery or affliction shall fall on thee, say,—"By the divine assistance I will bear it patiently. Lord Jesus, stand by me and comfort me: Lord Jesus, be present with thy servant, that putteth his trust in thee; receive my spirit, and lead me through the valley and shadow of death; lead me, and forsake me not, until thou hast brought my soul into the land of the living, O thou, who art my light, life, and salvation."

CHAP. VII.—*Of death, and the certainty of it.*

Besides the misery wherein all the felicity of this world is to determine, there are other considerations of the end of our life, by which we may perceive how vain and contemptible are all the goods of it. We will principally speak of three.

1. That death is most certain, and no ways to be avoided.

2. That the time is most uncertain, because we know not neither when nor how it will happen.

3. That it is but only one, and but once to be experienced; so that we cannot by a second death correct the errors of the first.

1. Concerning the certainty of death, it imports us much to persuade ourselves of it; for as it is infallible that the other life shall be without end, so it is as certain that this shall have it. God hath not made a law more inviolable than that of death. Thou art to die; assure thyself of that. An irrevocable law is this; and without remedy thou must die. I pray tell me where is Adam now? Where is Cain? Where is long-lived Methuselah? Where is Noah? Where is Shem? Where is Abraham? Where is Jacob? They are dead and gone; their time is past; we may say of them, *vixerunt, fuerunt Troes;* once they were, now they are not; and be assured that *mortuus est* shall be every man's epitaph; for 'we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground,' 2 Sam. xiv. 14.

The time will come when those eyes, with which thou readest this, shall be burst, and lose their sight; those hands, which thou now employest, be without sense or motion; this mouth, which now discourses, shall be mute, without breath or spirit; and this flesh, which thou now pamperest, shall be consumed and eaten by worms and vermin. The time will come when thou shalt be covered with earth, thy body stink and rot; the time will come when thou shalt be forgotten, as if thou never hadst been; and those that pass shall walk over thee, without remembering that such a man was born. Consider this, and persuade thyself that thou must die as well as others; that which hath happened to so many, must happen also to thee. Think on this seriously, and reflect with thyself soberly, how thou

shalt look when thou art dead: and this consideration will give thee a great knowlege what thy life is, and make thee despise the pleasures of it.

If death were only contingent, and not certain, yet, because it might happen, it ought to make us very careful and solicitous. If God should say that only one of all those in the world should die, but did not declare who that one were, yet all would fear. Why, then, dost thou not now fear, when all men must infallibly die, and perhaps thou the first?

Now is the bow drawn; now the arrow let loose, and already in the way to hit thee; why dost thou strive to shun it, and dost not rather humble and prepare thyself to receive it? If one should tell thee that a whole train of artillery were immediately to be discharged at thee, and no way left to avoid the strokes, how wouldst thou be amazed! But if thou perceivedst that fire were already given, the very noise perhaps would kill thee. Know, then, that the artillery of death, with much more fury, is already shot, and there is no quarter of an hour wherein it flies not more than ten millions of leagues to overtake thee; and yet from whence it parted, and where it is now, thou knowest not. Wert thou certain it were far off, yet it runs with so precipitate a course, that it will not fail in a short time to reach thee. Therefore, thou being ignorant at what distance it is, thou oughtest every moment to expect it, since every moment it may be with thee.

Let every man, therefore, say within himself, It is I who am to die, and resolve into dust; I have nothing to do with this world; the other was made for me, and I am only to care for that; in this I am only a passenger, and am therefore to look on the eternal, whither I am going, and am there to make my abode for ever. Certain it is that death will come, and hurry me along with him; all the business, therefore, I have now, is to dispose myself for so hard an encounter; and since it is not in the power of man to free me from it, I will only serve the Lord, who is able to save me in so certain and imminent a danger.

2. As it is most certain that we are to die, so it is most uncertain when or in what manner we shall die. Who knows whether he is to die in his old age, or in his youth; if by sickness,

or struck by a thunderbolt; if a year hence, or a day? The doors of death are ever open, and the enemy continually lies in ambush; and, when we least think of him, will assault us.

He who suspected that thieves were to enter his house, would walk all night, because they should find him at no hour unprovided. It being, then, not a suspicion, but an apparent certainty, that death will come, and we know not when, why do we not always watch? We are in continual danger, and therefore ought to be continually prepared. It is good ever to have our accounts made with God, since we know not but he may call us in such haste as we shall have no time to perfect them: it is good to play a sure game, and be ever in the grace of God.

Who would not tremble to hang over some vast precipice, wherein if he fell, he were certain to be dashed in a thousand pieces, and that by so weak a supporter as a thread? This, or in truth much greater, is the danger of him who is in mortal sin, who hangs over hell by the thread of life; a twist so delicate, that not a knife, but the wind, and the least fit of sickness, breaks it. Wonderful is the danger where he stands, who continues but one minute in mortal sin. Death hath time enough to shoot his arrow; the speaking of a word, the twinkling of an eye, suffices. Who can be pleased whilst he stands naked and disarmed in the midst of his enemies? Amongst as many enemies is man, as there are ways to death, which are innumerable. It is not, then, safe for man to be disarmed and naked of the grace of God in the midst of so many adversaries and dangers of death which hourly threaten him. What person, being led to execution, would entertain himself by the way with vain conceits? We are condemned persons, who are going to execution, though by different ways, which we ourselves know not; some the straight way, and some by by-paths, but are all sure to meet in death. We ought, therefore, still to be prepared, and free from the distracting pleasures of this life, for fear we fall suddenly. This danger of sudden death is sufficient to make us distaste all the delights of the earth.

Death is therefore so uncertain, that thou shouldst be ever certain to despise this life, and dispose thyself for the other. Thou art every hour in danger of death, to the end that thou

shouldst be every hour prepared to leave life. What is death but the way unto eternity? A great journey thou hast to make; wherefore dost thou not provide in time? and the rather, because thou knowest not how soon thou mayest be forced to depart. Who is there who does not desire to have served God faithfully two years before death should take him? If, then, thou art not sure of one, why dost thou not begin? Trust not in thy health or youth, for death steals treacherously on us when we least look for it. Promise not thyself to-morrow, for thou knowest not whether death will come to-night.

Since, then, thou knowest not when thou art to die, think thou must die to-day, and be ever prepared for that which may ever happen. Trust in the mercies of God, and implore them incessantly; but presume not to defer thy conversion for a moment; for who knows whether thou shalt ever from henceforward have time to call on him; and having called on him, whether thou shalt be heard? To what purpose defer we that until to-morrow, which imports so much to be done to-day, and perhaps will not be to-morrow, if not to-day? It was a very good answer that Messodamus gave one inviting him to a feast the next day: "My friend," saith he, "why dost thou invite me against to-morrow? I durst not, for these many years, secure myself that I should live one day; for I have expected death every hour." No man is sufficiently armed against death, unless he be always prepared to entertain it.

3. To this uncertainty of death is to be added that of being only one, and only once to be tried, so as the error of dying ill cannot be amended by dying well another time. God gave unto man his senses and other parts of his body double; he gave him two eyes, that if one failed, he might serve himself with the other; he gave him two hands, that if one were lost, yet he might not wholly be disabled; but of deaths he gave but one, and if that one miscarry, all is ruined. A terrible case, that the thing which most imports us, which is to die, hath neither trial, experience, nor remedy! It is but only once to be acted, and that in an instant, and on that instant all eternity depends; in which if we fail, the error is never to be amended.

If an ignorant peasant, who had never drawn a bow, should

be commanded to shoot at a mark far distant, on condition that if he hit it, he should be highly rewarded with many rich gifts; but if he missed it, and that at the first shot, he should be burnt alive;—in what straits would this poor man find himself! How perplexed, that he should be forced on a thing of that difficulty, wherein he had no skill, and that the failing should cost him so dear as his life; but especially that it was to be only once essayed, without possibility of repairing the first fault by a second trial! This is our case. I know not how we are so pleasant. We have never died; we have no experience or skill in a thing of so great difficulty; we are only once to die, and in that all is at stake; either eternity of torments in hell, or of happiness in heaven. How live we, then, so careless of dying well, since for it we were born, and are but once to try it? This action is the most important of all our life; on it depends eternity, and, if missed, without repair or amendment. These human actions which may be repaired, if one miss, the other may hit; and that which is lost in one way, may be regained in another. If a rich merchant had this year a ship sunk in the ocean, another may arrive loaded with such riches as may recompense the loss of the former; but if we once fail in death, the loss is never to be repaired.

That which is but only one, is worthy of more care and esteem, because the loss of it is irreparable. Let us, then, value the time of this life, since there is no other given wherein to gain eternity.

A certain soldier being called in question by Lamachus, a centurion, for some misdemeanor or other committed in the camp, earnestly desired pardon for that once, and promised never to offend in the like again. But the centurion made him this answer: *In bello, bone vir, non licebit bis peccare:* "O, sir! know you thus much, there is no offending in war twice." But in death, alas! there is no offending once: there is no hope of pardon. Once dead, and always dead. He that dies once ill, is damned for ever. There is no returning again to rise to amend what is done amiss. As death leaves a man, so judgment finds him; and as judgment leaves him, so eternity findeth him.

If a man were obliged to leap some great and desperate leap,

on condition, that if he performed it well, he should be made master of a wealthy kingdom; but if ill, he should be chained to an oar, and made a perpetual galley-slave;—without doubt this man would use much diligence in preparing himself for so hazardous an undertaking, and would often practise before an action of so great consequence, from which he expected fortunes so different. How far more different are those which we expect from so great a leap as is from life to death, since the kingdoms of the earth, compared with that of heaven, are trash, rubbish; and the tugging at an oar in the galleys, compared with hell, a glory! When the leap is great and dangerous, he who is to leap it uses to fetch his career backwards, that he may leap farther, and with greater force. We therefore, knowing the danger of the leap from life to death, that we may perform it better, ought to fetch our career far back, even from the beginning of our short life, and from our first use of reason, from which we shall know that the life we live is mortal; that at the end of it we have a great debt to pay; and that we are to discharge both use and principal when we least think of it.

It was the saying of Iphicrates, that it is a shame for an emperor at any time to say with the fool, *Non putabam*, "I did not think it;" but it is a greater shame for a Christian man to say, *Non putabam;* I did not think there had been such a difference between a godly and a wicked life; I did not think eternity was to follow after this life; I did not think I should have died so suddenly.

Let us therefore husband time, in which we may gain eternity, which being once lost, we shall lose both the time of this life and the eternity of the other. How many millions are now in hell, who, whilst they were in this world, despised time, and would now be content to suffer thousands of years all the torments of the damned, for the redemption of one instant, in which they might, by repentance, recover the eternal life of glory, which is now lost without remedy! And yet thou castest away not only instants, but hours, days, and years. Consider what a damned person would give for some part of that time which thou losest; and take heed that thou hereafter, when there shall be no repair of that time which thou so vainly mispendest, be not thyself in the same grief and bitterness.

We are now on the stage; therefore we may act on our part. We have to deal with potent enemies; therefore we must be always prepared to fight. We are still in our race; therefore we must hold out to the last. Let us, then, so act our parts, that the angels may rejoice to be spectators. Let us so fight, that we may win the crown; let us so run, that we may obtain.

Consider, how by time thou mayest gain eternity. Look not, then, on the loss of it as on the loss of time, but of eternity. Endeavor, then, whilst it lasts, to get a good bargain; for, this life once past, there is no more occasion for traffic. The time appointed for storing up is but short, but the gain and profit is eternal. Therefore leave the cares of this world, and elevate your whole heart and affections unto heaven, and there place your thoughts, which are to be upright and settled in God Almighty.

I know, O Lord! I am here but as a sojourner in a strange land, and not as a citizen in my own country. I am here but a tenant at will, and must shortly depart; for here I have no continuing city; but I must seek one to come,* eternal in the heavens, where I shall bear a part in the heavenly choir with angels, evermore praising thy holy name. There I shall behold light incomprehensible, where I shall be in no fear of death. Farewell, then, all the world, and all the things in it. 'Thy kingdom come, thy will be done;' and welcome to me, thou art welcome eternally, O beloved! eternally thou art welcome. Now I am blessed, O Lord! for I shall dwell in thy house, and shall still be praising thee.†

CHAP. VIII.—*Of that moment wherein we are to die, and life to end.*

We ought seriously to consider all which is to pass in that moment of death for which only the time of this life was bestowed on us, and on which depends the eternity of the other. O most dreadful point, which art the end of time, and the beginning of eternity! O most fearful instant, which shuttest up the prefixed term of life, and determinest the business of our salvation! How

* Heb. xiii. 14. † Psal. lxxxiv. 4.

many things are to pass in thee! In the same instant life is to finish, all our works to be examined, and that sentence given which is to be executed for all eternity. O last moment of life! O first of eternity! How terrible is the thought of thee, since in thee not only life is to be lost, but to be accounted for, and we then to enter into a region which we know not! In that moment I shall cease to live; in that moment I shall behold my Judge, who shall lay all my sins open before me, with all their weight, number, and enormity. In it I shall receive a strict charge of all the divine benefits bestowed on me, and in it a judgment shall pass on me, either for my salvation or damnation eternal! How wonderful is it, that for so many matters, and of so great importance, there is no more time allotted than the space of an instant; no place left for reply, intercession of friends, or appeal! O fearful moment, on which so much depends! Admirable is the high wisdom of God, which hath placed a point in the midst betwixt time and eternity, unto which all the time of this life is to relate, and on which the whole eternity of the other is to depend! O moment, which art neither time nor eternity, but art the horizon of both, and dividest things temporal from eternal! O narrow moment! O most dilated point! wherein so many things are to be concluded, and so strict an account is to be given, and where so rigorous a sentence is to be pronounced,—is ever to stand in force! A strange case, that a business of eternity is to be resolved in a moment, and no place allowed for the intercession of friends or our own diligence!

It will be then in vain to make any addresses or application; there is none will intercede for thee, nor can give thee absolution. The rigor of the Judge, in that instant wherein thou expirest, will allow no farther mercy. St. John says, that heaven and earth shall fly from the presence of the Judge. Whither wilt thou go? To what place canst thou repair, being the person against whom the process is commenced? It is therefore said that heaven and earth shall fly, because neither the saints of heaven shall there favor thee, nor the powers of earth assist thee. There shall be place for nothing that may help thee. What, then, would a sinner give for leave to offer up one poor prayer to God when it is too late? That which would now

serve thy turn, and thou despisest, thou wouldst then have done, and canst not. Provide thyself therefore in time, whilst it may avail thee, and defer it not until that instant wherein nothing can do thee good. Now thou mayest help thyself; now thou mayest find favor. Expect not that moment wherein thy own endeavors will be useless, and there will be none to help or assist thee.

O what a lamentable thing will it be for a sinner to see himself not only abandoned by men, but also by angels, and even by God himself; and to be delivered over into the power of the infernal dragon, without all hopes of escaping from him, who will seize on his soul, and carry it to the abyss of hell, there to be tormented for ever!

How can men be careless, seeing so important a business as the salvation of their souls depends on an instant, wherein no new diligence nor preparation will avail them? Since, then, we know not when that moment will be, let us not be any moment unprovided. This is a business not to be one point of time neglected, since that point may be our damnation. What will a hundred years spent with great austerity in the service of God profit us, if, at the end of all those years, we shall commit some grievous sin, and death shall seize on us before repentance?

Let no man secure himself in his past virtues, but continue them unto the end, since, if he die not in grace, all is lost; and if he doth, what matters it to have lived a thousand years in the greatest troubles and afflictions this world could lay on him? O moment, in which the just shall forget all his labors, and shall rest assured of all his virtues! O moment, which art certain to be, uncertain when to be, and most certain never to be again! I will therefore now fix thee in my memory, that I may not hereafter meet thee to my eternal ruin and perdition.

There are three things which would make a sinner tremble: the first, when his soul is to be plucked out of his body; the second, when it is to appear before God to receive judgment; and the third, when sentence is to be pronounced. How terrible, then, is that moment wherein all these three things so terrible are to pass! Let a Christian often, whilst he lives, place himself in that instant, from whence let him behold, on

one part, the time of his life which he is to live, and, on the other, the eternity whereunto he enters; and let him consider what remains unto him of that, and what he hopes for in this. In that instant a thousand years of life shall appear unto the sinner no more than one hour; and one hour of torments shall appear a thousand years. Behold thy life from this watch-tower, from this horizon, and measure it with the eternal, and thou shalt find it of no extension.

O dreadful moment, which cuts off the thread of time, and begins the web of eternity! I will therefore provide for this moment, that I may not lose eternity. This is that precious pearl for which I will give all that I have or am: it shall ever be in my memory; I shall ever be solicitous of it, since it may every day come on me. For eternity depends on death, death on life, and life on a thread, which may either be broken or cut, and that even when I most hope and most endeavor to prolong it. My life is never secure; I will therefore ever fear that instant, which gives an end to time, and beginning to eternity.

Benediction and praise be to him who is seated on the throne, and to the Lamb who hath redeemed us in his blood, and hath placed us in his eternal kingdom. Amen.

Chap. IX.—*The end of temporal life is terrible.*

Death, because it is the end of life, is by the philosopher said to be the most terrible of all things terrible. What would he have said, if he had known it to be the beginning of eternity, and the gate into which we enter into that vast abyss, no man knowing on what side he shall fall into that profound and bottomless depth? If death be terrible for ending the business of life, what is it for ushering in the instant wherein we are to give an account of life before that terrible and most just Judge, who therefore died that we might use it well?

It is not the most terrible part of death to leave the life of this world, but to give an account of it to the Creator of the world, especially in such a time wherein he is to use no mercy. This is a thing so terrible, that it made holy Job tremble, notwithstanding he had so good an account to make; who was so just, that God himself gloried in having such a servant.

Death is terrible for many weighty reasons, whereof not the least is the sight of the offended Judge, who is not only judge, but party, and a most irrefragable witness; in whose visage shall then appear such a severity against the wicked, that it is better to suffer all manner of torments than to behold the face of this angry Judge.

How will it then amaze us, when we shall behold Jesus Christ himself alive; not a dead image, not in the humanity of the cross; but on a throne of majesty, the seat of justice; not in a time of mercy, but in the hour of vengeance; not naked, with pierced hands, but armed against sinners with the sword of justice, when he shall come to judge and revenge the injuries which they have done him! God is as righteous in his justice as in his mercy; and, as he hath allotted a time for mercy, so he will for justice.

As in this life the rigor of his justice is, as it were, repressed and suspended, so in that point of death when the sinner shall receive judgment, it shall be let loose, and overwhelm him. A great and rapid river, which should, for thirty or forty years together, have its current violently stopped,—what a mass of waters would it collect in so long a space! and if it should then be let loose, with what fury would it overrun and beat down all before it! and what resistance could withstand it? Since, then, the divine justice, which the prophet Daniel compares, not to an ordinary river, but to a river of fire, for the greatness and fury of the rigor, shall be repressed for thirty or forty years during the life of man; what an infinity of wrath will it amass together, and with what fury will it burst out on the miserable sinner in the face of the offended Judge! And therefore the prophet Daniel saith, that a river of fire issued from his countenance, that his throne was of flames, and the wheels of it burning fire; because all shall then be fire, rigor, and justice. He sets forth unto us his tribunal throne with wheels, to signify thereby the force and violence of his omnipotency in executing the severity of his justice; all which shall appear in that moment when sinners shall be brought into judgment; when the Lord shall speak unto them in his wrath, and confound them in his fury.

O man! who hast now time, consider in what condition thou

shalt see thyself in that instant. Then, neither the blood of Christ shed for thee, nor the Son of God crucified, nor the intercession or prayers of the blessed saints, nor the divine mercy itself, shall avail thee; but thou shalt only behold an incensed and revenging God, whose mercies shall then only serve to augment his justice. Thou shalt perceive that none will take thy part, but all will be against thee; thou art to expect no patron, no protector, but thy virtuous actions; they only shall accompany thee; when all shall leave thee, they only shall not forsake thee. The rich man shall not then have multitudes of servants to set forth his greatness, nor well-feed lawyers to defend his process; only his good works shall bestead him, and they only shall defend him.

There, when their treasures which have been heaped up in this world, and guarded with so much care, shall fail their masters, their alms bestowed on the poor shall not fail them. There, when their children, kindred, friends, and servants shall all fail them, the strangers whom they have lodged, the sick whom they have visited, and the needy whom they have succored, shall not fail them. Let us therefore provide for that day, and take care that our works be good ones.

It is to be admired how many dare do ill in the presence of that Judge with whom nothing can prevail but doing well; and the wonder is much the greater, that we dare with our evil works offend him who is to judge them. The thief is not so impudent as to rob his neighbor, if the magistrate looks on; but would be held a fool, if he should rob or offend the magistrate himself in his own house. How dares, then, this poor thing, man, injure the very person of his most upright and just Judge, before whom it is most certain he shall appear, to his face, in his own house, in so high a manner as to prefer the devil, his and our great enemy, before him? Every one who sins, makes as it were a judgment, and passes a sentence, in favor of Satan against Jesus Christ. Of this unjust judgment of man, the Son of God, who is unjustly sentenced by a sinner, will at the last day take a most strict and severe account. Let him expect, from his own injustice, how great is to be the divine justice against him. Let him take heed how he work, since all his actions are to be viewed and reviewed by his Redeemer. An

artist, who knew his work was to appear before some king, or to be examined by some great master in the same art, would strive to give it the greatest perfection of his skill. Since, therefore, all our works are to appear before the King of heaven, and the chief master of virtues, Jesus Christ, let us endeavor that they may be perfect and complete; the rather, because he is not to examine them for curiosity, but to pass on us a sentence either of condemnation or eternal happiness. Let us then call to mind that we are to give an account unto God Almighty, and therefore let us take heed what we do: let us weep for what is amiss; let us forsake our sins, and strive to do virtuous actions; let us look on ourselves as guilty offenders, and let us stand in perpetual fear of the Judge; still reprehending ourselves, and saying, "Ah me! wretch that I am, how shall I appear before the tribunal of God! How shall I be able to give an account of all my actions!" If thou shalt always have these thoughts, thou mayest obtain salvation; and be assured, he that seriously thinks on death will never have the boldness to sin.

Another cause of the terribleness of death is, the innumerable multitude of our sins, and their monstrous deformity, shall then be laid open. This is signified by the prophet Daniel, where he says that the throne of the tribunal of God was of flaming fire, whose nature is not only to burn, but to enlighten; and therefore in that divine judgment shall not only be executed the rigor of his justice, but the ugliness likewise of human nature shall be discovered. The Judge himself shall not only appear severe, but our sins shall all be discovered and laid open to us; and the sight of them shall make us tremble with fear and astonishment, especially when we shall perceive them to be manifest unto him who is both judge and party. Our sins now seem unto us but light and trivial, and we see not half of them; but in our leaving of this life we shall find them heavy and insupportable.

How shall we remain amazed, when we shall see a number of our actions to be sins, which we never thought to be such; and, which is more, we shall find that to be a fault which we thought to be a laudable work! For many actions, which in the eyes of men seem virtuous, will then be found vices in the sight of

God: then shall be brought to light the works which we have done, and those which we have left undone; the evil of that action which we have committed, and the good of that which we have omitted. Neither is there account to be taken only of the evils which we do, but of the good also which we do not well: all will be strictly searched and narrowly looked into, and must pass by many eyes.

The devil, as our accuser, shall frame the process of our whole life, and shall accuse us of all he knows; and if any thing shall escape his knowlege, it shall not therefore be concealed, for our own conscience shall cry out and accuse us of it; and lest our conscience might flatter us, or be ignorant of some faults, our guardian angel shall then be fiscal and accuser, calling for divine justice against us, and shall discover what our own souls are ignorant of. And if the devil, our conscience, and guardian angel, shall fail in any thing, as not knowing all, the Judge himself, who is both party and witness, and whose divine knowlege penetrates into the bottom of our wills, shall there declare many things for vices which were here esteemed for virtues. O strange way of judgment, where none denies, and all accuse; even the offender accuses himself; and where all are witnesses, even the judge and party! O dreadful judgment, where there is no advocate, and four accusers, the devil, thy conscience, thy guardian angel, and thy very judge, who will accuse thee of many things which thou thoughtest to have alleged for thy defence! Then all shall be laid open, and confusion shall cover the sinner with the multitude of his offences. How shall he blush to see himself in the presence of the King of heaven in so foul and squalid garments!

If a man, when he is to speak with some great prince, desire to be decently and well clad, how will he be out of countenance to appear before him dirty and half naked! How shall then a sinner be ashamed to see himself before the Lord of all, naked of good works, bedirted and defiled with abominable and horrid crimes!

Besides the multitude of sins whereof the whole life shall be full, the heinousness of them shall be also laid open before him, and he shall tremble at the sight of that which he now thinks but a trivial fault; for then he shall clearly see the ugliness of

sin, the dissonancy of it unto reason, the deformity it causes in the soul, the injury it doth to the Lord of the world, his ingratitude to Christ his Redeemer, the prejudice it brings unto himself; hell into which he falls, and eternal glory which he loses. The least of these were sufficient to cover his heart with sadness and grief; but, all together, what amazement and confusion will they cause, especially when he shall perceive that sins produce an ugliness in the soul beyond all the corporeal deformities which can be imagined! Let us therefore avoid them now, for all are to come to light, and we must account for all, even to the last farthing. Neither is this account to be made in gross only, for the greatest and most apparent sins; but even for the least and smallest. In human tribunals, the judge takes no notice of small matters; but in the courts of divine judicature nothing passes; the least things are as diligently looked into as the greater. There is also in the end of life another cause of much terror unto sinners; which is the lively knowlege which they shall have of the divine benefits received, and the charge which shall be laid against them for their great ingratitude and abuse of them. In that instant, sinners are not only to stand in fear of their own bad works, but of the grace and benefits of God Almighty conferred on them.

Another confusion shall cover them, when they shall see what God hath done to oblige and assist them towards their salvation; and what they to the contrary have done, to draw on them their own damnation: they shall tremble to see what God did for their good; and that he did so much that he could do no more, all which hath been misemployed and abused by themselves.

We will consider every one of these benefits by themselves. The first which occurs, is that of thy creation; and what could God do more, since, in this one benefit of thy creation, he gave thee all that thou art, both in soul and body? If wanting an arm, thou wouldst esteem thyself much obliged, and be very thankful, unto him who should bestow one on thee, which were sound, strong, and useful;—why art thou not so to God, who hath given thee arms, heart, soul, body, and all?

Consider what thou wert before he gave thee a being—nothing; and now thou enjoyest not only a being, but the best

being of the elemental world. Betwixt being and not being, there is an infinite distance. See, then, what thou owest unto thy Creator, and thou shalt find thy debt to be no less than infinite, since he hath not only given thee a being, but a noble being; and that not by necessity, but out of an infinite love, and by election, making choice of thee amongst an infinity of men, possibly, whom he might have created. If lots were to be cast among an hundred persons for some honorable charge, how fortunate would he be esteemed, who should draw the lot from so many competitors! Behold then thy own happiness, who from an absolute nothing hath lighted on a being amongst an infinity of creatures possible. And whence proceeds this singular favor, but from God, who, out of those numberless millions, hath picked out thee, he having many others, who, if he had created them, would have served him better than thyself? Besides this, he not only created thee by election, and gave thee a noble being; but supernatural happiness being no way due unto thy nature, he created thee for it, and gave thee for thy end the most high and eminent that could be imagined, to wit, the eternal possession of thy Creator.

It being, then, so great a benefit to have created thee, it is yet a greater to have preserved and suffered thee until this instant, without casting thee into a thousand hells for thy sins and offences. How many, for one only fault committed, hath he withdrawn his preservation from, and suffered them to die in that sin for which they are now in hell! and some of them, if they had been pardoned, would have proved more grateful than thou. Behold, how many angels, for their first offence, he threw headlong down from heaven, and expected them no longer, and yet still expects thee!

Consider, thou owest him for preserving thee as much as for creating thee; preservation being a continued creation; and more for preserving thee, although his enemy. In thy creation, although thou didst not deserve a being, yet thou demeritedst it not; but in thy preservation thou hast deserved the contrary, which is to be forsaken and abandoned.

Consider the benefit thou receivest by the incarnation of the Son of God, by which thou art delivered from sin and hell,

and at such a time when thy miserable condition was desperate of all other remedy, and hath exalted thee to his grace, and the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven; and this he did with such singular love, even to the annihilating as it were himself, that he might exalt thee, taking on himself thy nature, that he might only confer an honor on thee, which he would not to the angels. All is great, all is transcendent, in this unspeakable goodness. See what God could do more for thee; and see that thou mayest do much more for him, and dost not!

Consider the benefit of our redemption by the death and passion of Christ. What could the Son of God do more for thee than die and shed his blood for thee; and that not with an ordinary death, but so ignominious, as it seems he could not suffer more? Set before thy eyes Christ crucified on mount Calvary; if a man more infamous be imaginable, executed publicly between two thieves as a traitor and an heretic, broaching false doctrine, and making himself king, as a traitor unto Cæsar;—two crimes so infamous, as they not only defame the person who commits them, but stain and infect his stock and lineage. Behold in what poverty he died, if greater can be thought on; to the end thou mayest see if it were possible he should do more for thee than what he did! Whilst he lived, he had not whereon to repose his head, neither found he one drop of water to refresh his sacred lips; even the earth refused him, wanting whereon to rest his feet! Behold with what grief and pains he expired, since from head to foot he was but one continued wound, his feet and hands were pierced with nails, and his head with thorns!

Who would not be amazed at the goodness and piety of a great emperor, who, having a desire to pardon a notorious traitor, should, rather than abate one jot of his justice, take on him the habit and shape of that traitor, and suffer publicly in the market-place, that the offender might be spared? Thus did God, taking on him the form of a servant, and dying on the cross, to free condemned man from eternal death.

Consider, then, how dreadful it shall be unto a sinner, when he shall receive a charge, not only of his own being and his own life, but also of the being and life of God; of the incar-

nation, passion, life, and death of Christ our Redeemer, who hath so often given himself in the sacrament of his body and blood!

The murderer who stands charged with the life of a man, although it be of some wicked person, yet fears to be apprehended and brought to judgment. How is it, then, that he who is charged with the life of God, trembles not? Oh, how fearful a thing is it, when a vile creature shall enter into judgment with his Creator, and shall be demanded an account of the blood of Christ, whose value is infinite! What account can he give of such a benefit, and of all the rest which he hath received, even from the greatest unto the least? when Christ shall say unto him, "I, when thou hadst no being, gave thee one, inspired thee with a soul, and placed thee above all things that are on the earth. I for thee created heaven, air, sea, earth, and all things, and yet am dishonored by thee, and held most vile and base; and yet for all this have not ceased to do thee good, and bestowed on thee innumerable benefits. For thy sake, being God, I was content to make myself a servant; was buffeted, spit on, and condemned to a punishment of slaves; and, to redeem thee from death, suffered the death of the cross. It is heaven I intended for thee, and from thence sent thee the Holy Ghost. I invited thee unto the kingdom of heaven, offered myself to be thy head, thy spouse, thy food, thy drink, thy shepherd. I chose thee for the heir of heaven, and drew thee out of darkness into light."

To such excess of love what have we to answer, but to stand astonished and confounded that we have been so ungrateful, and given occasion to the devil for one of the greatest scorns and injuries which could be put on our Redeemer? when he shall say unto him, "Thou createdst man; for him wast born in poverty, lived in labor, and died in pain and torment. I have done nothing for him, but sought to damn him into a thousand hells; and yet, for all this, it is I whom he strives to please, and not thee. Thou dost prepare for him a crown of eternal glory; I desire to torment him in hell; and yet he had rather serve me without interest, than thee for thy promise of so great a reward. I should have been ashamed to have created and redeemed a wretch so ungrateful unto him from whom he hath

received so great benefits. But since he loves me better than thee, let him be mine, unto whom he hath so often given himself up."

We are not only to give an account of these general benefits, but of those which are more particular; of the good examples which we have seen; of the instructions we have heard; of the inspiration which hath been sent us. Let us tremble that we are so careless of that for which all the care in the world is not sufficient. Now is the time for benefiting ourselves; if we shall now despise it, in what case shall we be? Let us not mispend the time of this life, since so severe an account will be demanded of all the benefits which we have received. Let us take heed what use we make of this temporal life; let us not lose it, since we are to answer for every part of it. This time is bestowed on us, wherein to gain heaven; and a most strict account will be demanded of us, if we despise it. It is not ours, for which we are to answer; we are not the lords of time: let us not therefore dispose of it for our own pleasure, but for the service of God, whose it is.

O God, every way most perfect and good! who art so scrupulous in thy justice, and so indulgent in thy mercy; rigorous with thyself, that thou mightest be merciful unto us: O God, infinitely good, infinitely holy, infinitely just and perfect! we magnify thee, we praise thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks unto thee, heavenly Father, for all the blessings thou hast bestowed on us.

Chap. X.—*The end of all time.*

After we have finished the time of this life, the end of all time is to succeed, which is to give a period unto all which we leave behind us. Let man therefore know that those things which he leaves behind for his memory after death, are as vain as those he enjoyed in his life. Let him raise proud mausoleums, let him erect statues of marble, let him build populous cities, let him leave a numerous kindred, let him stamp his name in brass, and fix his memory with a thousand nails, all must have an end. His cities shall sink, his statues fall, his family perish, his memory be defaced, and all shall end, because all time must end. Not only our pleasures and delights are to end in death,

but our memories, at the farthest, are to end with time; and since all are to conclude, all are to be despised as vain and perishing.

If the death of a monarch or prince of some corner of the world, prognosticated by an eclipse or comet, cause a fear and amazement in the beholders, what shall the death of the whole world, and with it all things temporal, and of time itself, foretold by angels with prodigious apparitions and dreadful noise, produce in us? Time shall end, and the world shall die, and that, if we may so say, a most horrible and disastrous death. How much the whole world, and the whole race of mankind, exceeds one particular person, by so much shall the universal end surpass in terror the particular end of this life.

Let us look on the strange manner of the end of the world, which, being so terrible, gives us to understand the vanity and deceit of all things in it. As it is usual in wars to skirmish and to make inroads before the day of battle, so before that dreadful day, wherein the army of vengeance and of all punishments is to encounter with the army of sin, the Lord shall from divers parts send forth several calamities, as plagues, famine, earthquakes, war, inundations, and droughts, which shall be forerunners of that great day of battle, which shall, like light horsemen, scour the country. And if those miseries do now so much afflict us, what shall they then do when God shall add unto them his utmost force and power? when all creatures shall arm against sinners, and the zeal of the divine justice shall be their captain-general, which the wise man declares in these words: 'His zeal shall take up arms, and shall arm the creatures to revenge him of his enemies. He shall put on justice as a breastplate, and righteous judgment as a helmet; and he shall take equity as a buckler, and shall sharpen his wrath as a lance, and the circuit of the earth shall fight for him. Thunderbolts shall be sent from the clouds as a well-shooting bow, and shall not fail to hit the mark; and hail shall be sent full of stormy wrath. The waters of the sea shall threaten them, the rivers shall combat furiously; a most stormy wind shall rise against them, and shall divide them as a whirlwind.'*

* Book of Wisdom, chap. 5

Very dreadful are these words, although they contain but the war which three of the elements are to make against sinners; but not only fire, air, and water, but earth also and heaven shall fall on them and confound them: for all the creatures shall express their fury in that day, and shall rise against man. And if the clouds shall discharge thunderbolts and stones on their heads, the heavens shall shoot no less balls than stars, which shall fall from thence; if hail, no bigger than little stones, falling but from the clouds, destroy the fields, and sometimes kill the lesser sort of cattle; what shall pieces of stars do, falling from the firmament or upper region?

As in man, who is called the lesser world, when he is to die, the humors, which are as the elements, are troubled and out of order; his eyes, which are as the sun and moon, are darkened; his other senses, which are as the lesser stars, fall away; his reason, which is as the celestial virtues, is off the hinges;—so, in the death of the greater world, before it dissolve and expire, the sun shall be turned into darkness, the moon into blood, the stars shall fall, and the whole world shall tremble with a horrid noise. If the sun, moon, and other celestial bodies, which are held incorruptible, shall suffer such changes, what shall be done with those frail and corruptible elements of earth, air, and water? If this inferior world doth depend on the heavens, whose celestial bodies shall be altered and broken in pieces; in what estate must the lower elements remain, when the virtues of heaven shall falter, and the wandering stars shall lose their way, and fail to observe their order?

How shall the air be troubled with violent and sudden whirlwinds, dark tempests, horrible thunders, and furious flashes of lightning! How shall the earth tremble with dreadful earthquakes, opening herself with a thousand mouths, and casting forth, as it were, whole volcanos of fire and sulphur; and, not content to overthrow the loftiest towers, shall swallow up high mountains, and bury cities in her entrails! How shall the sea then rage, mounting her proud waves above the clouds, as if they meant to overwhelm the whole earth! The roaring of the ocean shall astonish those who are far distant from the sea, and inhabit in the midst of the firm land. There-

fore it is said, that there shall be in the earth afflictions of nations for the confusion of the noise of the sea.

What shall men do in this general perturbation of nature? They shall remain amazed and pale as death. What comfort shall they have? They shall stand gazing one on another, and every one shall conceive a new fear, by beholding in his neighbor's face the image of his own death. What fear and horror shall then possess them, when they shall hourly expect the success and dire effects portended by those monstrous prodigies! All commerce shall then cease; the market-places shall be unpeopled, and the tribunals remain solitary and silent: none shall then be ambitious of honors; none shall seek after pastimes and new-invented pleasures; nor shall the covetous wretch then busy himself with the care of his treasures. None shall frequent the palaces of kings and princes, but through fear shall forget even to eat and drink. All their care shall be employed how to escape those deluges, earthquakes, and lightnings, seeking for places of security, which they shall not meet with. Who will remember the sumptuous buildings he hath reared; the beauty he hath once doted on?

If we shall forget what we ourselves most valued and gloried in, how shall we remember that of others? What remembrance shall there then be of the acts of the great Alexander, of the learning of Aristotle, of the wisdom of Solomon, and of the endowment of the most renowned men of the world? Their fame shall remain from thenceforward for ever buried, and shall die with the world for a whole eternity.

The mariners, when, in some furious tempest, they are on the point of sinking, how are they amazed at the rage of the watery element! how grieved and afflicted with the ruin which threatens them! What prayers and vows do they send up to Heaven! How disinterested are they of all worldly matters! since they fling their wealth and riches into the sea, for which they have run such hazard. In what condition, then, shall be the inhabitants of the earth, when not only the sea with his raging, but heaven and earth with a thousand prodigies, shall affright them? When the sun shall put on a robe of mourning, and amaze them with the horror of his darkness;

when the moon shall look like blood, the stars fall, and the earth shall shake them with its unquiet trembling; when the whirlwinds shall throw them off their legs, and frequent and thick flashes of lightning dazzle their sight, and confound their understanding;—what shall sinners then do, for whose sake all these fearful wonders shall happen?

Let us, by the particular changes which have happened, judge how dreadful the conjunction of so many and so great calamities in the end of the world altogether will be. But if all the alterations past of the elements were no more than skirmishes, what shall then be the battle which they are to give unto sinners, when the heavens shall shoot their arrows, and give the alarm with prodigious thunders, and shall declare their wrath with horrible apparitions?

In the last days the sun shall hide his beams under a mourning garment; and the moon shall clothe herself with blood, to signify the war which all the creatures are to make with fire and blood against those who have despised their Creator; when on one side the earth shall rouse itself up against them, and shall shake them off her back, as unwilling to endure their burdens any longer; when the sea shall pursue and assault them within their own houses; and the air shall not permit them to be safe in the fields. Certainly, it shall then be no wonder if they shall desire the mountains to cover them, and the hills to hide them within their caverns. What shall it be, then, when the Lord of all shall arm all the elements against man, and shall give the alarm to all creatures, to revenge himself on him, so ungrateful for his infinite benefits?

The creatures now groan to see themselves abused by man, in contempt of his and their Creator; but they shall then shake off their yokes, and shall revenge themselves of the grievances which they suffer under him, and the injuries he hath done unto the Creator of all. All the elements, all creatures, the whole world, shall be up in arms against man. The summer shall be changed into winter, and winter into the summer. No creature shall observe the prefixed law with him who hath not observed the law of his Creator, that so they may revenge both God and themselves. But more terrible then is that which follows, that, after so many calamities, the bottomless pit, which

is hell, shall burst open, and out of his profound throat belch forth so thick a smoke as shall wholly darken the sun and air, from which smoke shall sally forth a multitude of deformed locusts, which in great swarms shall disperse themselves over the face of the whole earth, and, leaving the fields, herbs, and what is sown, fall on such men as have been unfaithful unto God, and shall for five months torment them with greater rage than scorpions.*

Some doctors understand those locusts according to the letter, that they shall be a certain kind of true locusts, but of a strange figure and fierceness; others, that they shall be devils in hell in the shape of locusts: and it is no marvel, that, in the destruction of the world, devils shall appear in visible form, since in the destruction of Babylon they appeared in divers figures of beasts, as was prophesied by Isaiah.

But how shall it then fare with sinners, when after all shall come that general fire, so often foretold, which shall either fall from heaven, or ascend out of hell, or (according to Albertus Magnus) proceed from both, and shall devour and consume all it meets with? Whither shall the miserable fly, when that river of flames, or, to say better, that inundation and deluge of fire, shall so encompass them, that no place of surety shall be left; where nothing can avail but a holy life; when all besides shall perish in the universal ruin of the whole world?

What lamentations were in Rome, when it burned for seven days together! What shrieks were heard in Troy, when it was wholly consumed with flames! What howling and astonishment in Pentapolis, when those cities were destroyed with fire from heaven! What weeping was there in Jerusalem, when they beheld the house of God, the glory of their kingdom, the wonder of the world, involved in fire and smoke! Imagine what these people felt: they saw their houses and goods on fire, and no possibility of saving them; when the husband heard the shrieks and cries of his dying wife, the father of his little children, and unawares perceived himself so encompassed with flames, that he could neither relieve them, nor free himself!

* Revelation, chap. ix.

What, then, shall be the straits and exigences of that general burning, when those who shall escape earthquakes, inundations of the sea, the fury of whirlwinds, and lightning from heaven, shall fall into that universal fire, that deluge of flame, which shall consume all, and make an end of men and their memories? Of those who lived before the flood, and were masters of the world for so long a time, except it be of some few, we know nothing. Those heroical actions, which certainly some of them performed, and gained by them incomparable fame, lie buried in the waters, and there remains no more memory of those who did them, than if they had never been born. No more permanent shall be the fame of those which now resounds in the ears of the whole world; Cyrus, Alexander, Hannibal, Scipio, Cæsar, Augustus, Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Euclid, and the rest; no more world, no more fame; this fire shall end all the smoke.

And indeed the world may be said to be like a house full of smoke, which in such manner blinds the eyes, that it suffers not those within it to see things as they are: and so the world and its deceits so disguise the nature of human things, that we perceive not what they are. Ambition and human honor (which the world so much dotes after) are no more than smoke without substance, which so blinds our understandings, that we know not the truth of what we so much covet. It is no marvel that so much smoke comes at last to end in flames.

What shall it then profit the worldlings to have rich vessels of gold and silver, curious embroideries, precious tapestries, pleasant gardens, sumptuous palaces, and all that the world now esteems, when they shall with their own eyes behold their costly palaces burnt, their rich and curious pieces of gold melted, and their florishing and pleasant orchards consumed, without power to preserve them or themselves? All shall burn, and with it the world, and all the memory and fame of it shall die; and that which mortals thought to be immortal, shall then end and perish.

No more shall Aristotle be cited in the schools, nor Ulpian adduced in the tribunals. No more shall Plato be read amongst the learned, nor Cicero imitated by the orators. No more shall Seneca be admired by the understanding, nor Alexander ex-

tolled among captains. All fame shall then die, and all memory be forgotten. O vanity of men, whose memorials are as vain as themselves, which in few years perish, and that which lasts longest can endure no longer than the world! What became of that statue of massy gold which Gorgias the Leontine placed in Delphos to eternise his name; and that of Gordian in Rome, and that of Berosus with the golden tongue in Athens, and innumerable others erected to great captains in brass or hardest marble? Certainly, many years since they are perished; if not, they shall perish in this great and general conflagration. Only virtue no fire can burn.

Three hundred and sixty statues were erected by the Athenians unto Demetrius Phalerius, for having governed their commonwealth ten years with great virtue and prudence; but of so little continuance were those trophies, that those very emblems which were raised by gratitude, were soon after destroyed by envy; and he himself, who saw his statues set up in so great a number, saw them also pulled down; but he still retained this comfort which Christians may learn from him, that, beholding how they threw his images unto the ground, he could say at last, They cannot overthrow those virtues for which they were erected. If they were true virtues, he said well; for these neither envy can demolish nor human power destroy.

And, which is more, the divine power will not in this general destruction of the world consume them, but will preserve in his eternal memory as many as shall persevere in goodness, and die in his holy grace: for only charity, holiness, and Christian virtues shall not end when the world ends.

The rich man shall not be preserved by his wealth, nor the mighty by his power, nor the crafty by his wiles; only the just shall be freed by his virtues. None shall escape the terror of that day by fast-sailing ships or speed of horses; the sea itself shall burn, and the fire shall overtake the swiftest post. Only holiness and charity shall defend the servants of God.

How then shall I, miserable sinner, in this universal conflagration behave myself? What counsel shall I take in that extremity, when my own conscience shall be my accuser, and when I shall behold the world on fire about me? Whither shall I flee for safety, when no place will afford it? Shall I

climb unto the mountains? Thither the flames will follow me. Shall I descend into the valleys? Thither the fire will pursue me. Shall I shut up myself in some strong castle or tower? But there the wrath of God will assault me, and the fire will pass the fosses, consume the bulwarks, and make an end of them and me. What shall I, poor wretch, do? Let thy power, O Lord, triumph over my misery, and glorify thyself in my greatest extremities; and thy will, O Lord, be done, if it be thy divine pleasure, in my confusion.

CHAP. XI.—*Of the last day of time, and of the judgment which is to pass on all things in the world.*

We must suppose that the coming of Christ to judgment is to be with greater terror and majesty than have yet been manifested by any of the divine persons, either in himself or any of his creatures. If an angel who represented God, and was only to promulgate the law, came with that terror and majesty unto mount Sinai, as made the Hebrew people, though purified and prepared for his coming, to quake and tremble; what shall the Lord of the law do, when he himself comes to take an account of the law, to revenge the breach of it? With what terror and majesty shall he appear unto sinners, and to those who are unprepared for his reception, who are then to be all present, and judged in that last day of time! For after those prodigious thunders, lightnings, earthquakes, and prodigies; after burning, in that deluge of fire, the sinners of the world, the saints remaining still alive, that article of our faith may be literally fulfilled, "From thence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead." The heavens shall open, and over the valleys of Jehoshaphat the Redeemer of the world, attended by all the angels of heaven in visible forms of admirable splendor, shall with a divine majesty descend to judge it.

Before the Judge shall be borne his standard, which Chrysostom* and divers other doctors affirm shall be the very cross on which he suffered. Then shall the just meet (as the Apostle says) their Redeemer in the air, who, at his issuing forth of the

* Chrysost. tom. iii. de Cruce.

heavens, shall, with a voice that may be heard by all the world, pronounce this his commandment, 'Arise, ye dead, and come unto judgment;' which shall be proclaimed by four angels in the four quarters of the world with such vehemence, that the sound shall pierce unto the infernal region, from whence the souls of the damned shall issue forth, and re-enter their bodies, which shall from thenceforward suffer the terrible torments of hell. The souls of the blessed, filling their bodies with the four gifts of glory, shall make them more resplendent than the sun, and with the gift of agility shall join themselves with those just who remain alive in the air in their passable bodies, which, being yet mortal, and therefore not able to endure those vehement affections of the heart, of joy, desire, reverence, love, and admiration of Christ, shall then die, and in that instant behold the divine essence; after which their souls shall be again immediately united to their bodies before they can be corrupted, or so much as fall unto the ground, and thenceforward continue glorious: for, in the moment wherein they die, they shall be purified from those noxious humors and qualities wherewith our bodies are now infected.

And therefore it was convenient they should first die, that being so cleansed from all filth, they might, by the restitution of their blessed souls, receive gifts of glory. Who can express the joy of those happy souls, when they shall take possession of their new, glorious, and beautiful bodies, which were long since eaten by worms or wild beasts, some four, some five thousand years ago, turned into dust and ashes! What thanks shall they give unto God, who, after so long a separation, hath restored them to their ancient companions! But the souls of the damned, how shall they rage and curse their own flesh, since, to please and pamper it hath been the occasion of their torments and eternal unhappiness!

The reprobates being then in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the predestinate in the air, the Judge shall appear above mount Olivet, unto whom the clouds shall serve as a chariot, and his most glorious body shall cast forth rays of such incomparable splendor, as the sun shall appear but as a coal; for even the predestinate shall shine as the sun, but the light and brightness

of Christ shall as far exceed them as the sun doth the least star. The which most admirable sight shall be yet more glorious by those thousand millions of excellent and heavenly spirits which shall attend him, who, having formed themselves aërial bodies of more or less splendor, according to their hierarchy and order, shall fill the whole space betwixt heaven and earth with unspeakable beauty and variety.

The Saviour of the world shall sit on a throne of great majesty: his countenance shall be most mild and peaceable towards the good, and (though the same) most terrible unto the bad. Out of his sacred wounds shall issue beams of light towards the just, full of love and sweetness; but unto sinners full of fire and wrath, who shall weep bitterly for the evils which issue from them. So great shall be the majesty of Christ, that the miserable, damned, and the devils themselves, notwithstanding all the hate they bear him, shall yet prostrate themselves and adore him, and to their greater confusion acknowlege him for Lord and God: and those who have most blasphemed him shall then bow before him, fulfilling the promises of the eternal Father, that all things should be subject unto him, that he would make his enemies his footstool, and that all knees should bend before him.* Here also shall the sinners behold him in glory, whom they have despised for vain trifles of the earth.

What an amazement will it be to see him king of so great majesty, who suffered so much ignominy on the cross, and even from those whom he redeemed with his most precious blood! What will they then say, who in scorn crowned the sacred temples of the Lord with thorns, put a reed in his hand for a sceptre, clothed him in some old and broken garment of purple, buffeted and spit on his blessed face? I know not how the memory of this doth not burst our hearts with compunction.

There shall be thrones for the Apostles, and those saints, who, poor in spirit, have left all for Christ; who, sitting now as judges with the Redeemer, and condemning by their good example the scandalous lives of sinners, shall approve the sentence of the supreme Judge, and declare his great justice before

* Psalm cix. 1 Cor. xv. Phil. ii.

the world, with which the wicked shall remain confounded and amazed. The tyrants who have afflicted and put to death the holy martyrs, what will they now say when they shall see them in this glory? Those who trampled under foot the justice and right of the poor of Christ, what will they do when they shall behold their judges? How confounded shall be the kings of the earth, when they shall behold their vassals in glory; and lords, when they shall see their slaves amongst the angels, and themselves in equal rank with devils! The good he shall place on his right hand, elevated in the air, that all the world may honor them as holy; and the wicked shall stand far at his left, remaining on the earth, to their own confusion, and scorn of all.

Immediately the books of all men's consciences shall be opened, and their sins published to the whole world. The most secret sins of their hearts, and those filthy acts which were committed in private, shall all, to their great shame and confusion, be then discovered. The virtuous actions of the just, how secretly soever performed, their holy thoughts, their pious desires, their pure intentions, their good works, which the world now disesteems as madness, shall then be manifested, and they for them be honored by the whole world.

Nothing shall be of greater confusion unto sinners, than to behold those who have committed equal and greater sins than themselves, to be there in glory, because they made use of the time of repentance, which they despised and neglected. This confusion shall be augmented by that inward charge which God shall lay against them of his divine benefits, unto which their angel guardians shall assist, by giving testimony how often they have dissuaded them from their evil courses, and how rebellious and refractory they have still been to their holy inspirations. The saints shall accuse them that they have laughed at their good counsels, and shall set forth the dangers whereunto they themselves have been subject by their ill example.

The just Judge shall then immediately pronounce sentence in favor of the good, in these words of love and mercy: 'Come, ye blessed of my Father! possess the kingdom which was prepared for you from the creation of the world.' O what joy shall fill the saints! and what spite and envy shall burst the

hearts of sinners! But more, when those miserable wretches shall hear the severe Judge say, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire, prepared for Satan and his angels.' With this sentence they shall remain for ever overthrown, and covered with eternal sorrow and confusion. 'Depart from me:' Alas, dread Sovereign! whither shall they go to avoid thy displeasure? Art thou not in heaven, in hell, and every where? Dost not thou fill heaven and earth? Dost not thou hold the universe in thy hands? And doth not thy power comprehend all things? To whom shall they betake themselves? Art not thou he who hast the words of eternal life, who art even thyself life everlasting? Whither wilt thou have these miserable creatures to retire themselves? Do what they can, they cannot go out of thee, since in thee all things have motion, being, and life. Begone, barren trees, twice dead, rooted out of the blessed earth: you are only fit to be cast into the fire; you are not worthy to take up place in the paradise of heaven, where no trees are planted, but such as bear good fruit.

At that instant the fire of that general burning shall invest those miserable creatures; the earth shall open, and hell shall enlarge its throat to swallow them for all eternity, accomplishing that malediction, 'Let death come on them, and let them sink alive into hell.'* Snares, fire, and sulphur shall rain on sinners. But the just shall then rejoice, singing that song of the Lamb related by St. John, 'Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord God Omnipotent! just and righteous are thy ways, king of all eternity! Who will not fear thee, O Lord, and magnify thy name?'† With thousand other anthems of joy and jubilee they shall ascend above the stars in a most glorious triumph, until they arrive in the imperial heaven, where they shall be placed in thrones of glory, which they shall enjoy for an eternity of eternities.

In the mean time, the earth, which was polluted for having sustained the bodies of the damned, shall be purified in that general burning; and then shall be renewed the earth, the heavens, the stars, and the sun, which shall shine seven times more than before. And the creatures which have been here

* Psalm lv. 15. † Revelation, xv. 3.

violated and oppressed by the abuse of man, shall then rejoice to see themselves freed from the tyranny of sin and sinners, and, joyful in the triumph of Christ, shall put on mirth and gladness.

This is the end wherein all time is to determine; and this the catastrophe, so fearful unto the wicked, where all things temporal are to conclude. Let us therefore take heed how we use them; and that we may use them well, let us be mindful of this last day, this day of justice and calamity, this day of terror and amazement; the memory whereof will serve much for the reformation of our lives. Let us think of it, and let us fear it; for it is the most terrible of all things terrible, and the consideration most profitable and acceptable to cause in us a holy fear of God, and to convert us unto him. While I live, I will therefore ever preserve in my memory this day of terror, that I may hereafter enjoy security for the whole eternity of God. Above all things, I will keep before my eyes the last of all days; and all the moments of my life I will think, and for ever think, of eternity.

BOOK II.

Chap. I.—*Of the greatness of things eternal.*

Although all temporal things are in themselves little and base, yet unto him who shall consider the greatness and majesty of the eternal, they will appear much less and contemptible.

The greatness of the glory eternal consists not only in the eternity of its duration, but in its intention also, as being supreme, and without limits in its excellency; and therefore we ought not think much of the suffering of a thousand years' torments, or to remain in hell itself for some long time, so we might behold Christ in his glory, and enjoy the company of saints, and be partakers of so great a happiness, but for one day.

Such is the beauty of righteousness, such the joy of that eternal light, of that immutable truth and wisdom, that although we were not to continue in it above one day, yet for so short a

time, a thousand years in this life, replenished with delight, and abundance of all goods temporal, were justly to be despised. 'One day in thy courts is better than a thousand.' And if those joys of heaven were short, and those of earth eternal, yet we ought to forsake these for those. What shall it be to possess them for an eternity, when the joy of each day shall be equivalent to many years? If the beauties of all creatures, heavens, earth, flowers, pearls, and all other things that could give any light, were all comprised in one thing; if every one of the stars yielded as much light as the sun, and the sun shone as bright as all they together; all this so united would be, in respect of the beauty of God Almighty, as a dark night in respect of the clearest day. As Ahasuerus, who reigned from India to Ethiopia over one hundred and seventy princes, made a great feast for all his princes, which lasted one hundred and eighty-one days; so shall this King of heaven and earth make his great supper of glory, which shall last for all eternity, for the setting forth of his majesty, and for the honor and entertainment of his servants; where the joys shall be such as neither the eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive. "Come, eat and drink, and be filled, my beloved," shall the King of heaven say; "this feast of mine shall never be ended: there shall come no sorrow after it." O life of lives, surpassing all life! O everlasting life! O life blessed for evermore, where there is joy without sorrow! O the inanity and emptiness of temporal goods! What proportion do they hold with this greatness, since they are so poor, that even time, from whence they have their being, makes them tedious, and not to be endured? Who could continue a whole month, without any diversion, in hearing the choicest music? Nay, who could pass a day free from weariness, without some thoughts of pleasure? But such is the greatness of those joys which God hath prepared for them who love and fear him, that we shall still desire them afresh, and they will not cloy us in a whole eternity.

Eternal glory is great, both in respect of its purity, being free from all ill, and in respect of its perfection, being highly and excellently good. It doth as far exceed all the grandeur of this world, as the heavens are distant from the earth; and

how far that is, we shall form some conception of it, as much as our weakness is able to express.

That most famous mathematician, Christopher Clavius, says, that from the sphere of the moon, which is the lowest heaven, unto the earth, are one hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and thirty miles; from the heaven of the sun, four millions thirty thousand nine hundred and twenty-three miles; and from the firmament, or eighth heaven, one hundred and sixty-one millions eight hundred fourscore and four thousand nine hundred and forty-three miles. Here Plato wills the mathematicians to cease their inquiries, for from hence there is no rule of measuring farther; but, without all doubt, it is much farther from thence to the imperial heaven: for the only thickness of the starry sphere is said to contain as much as the whole space betwixt that and the earth; insomuch that if a millstone were thrown from the highest of the firmament, and should every hour fall two hundred miles, it would be ninety years before it arrived at the earth. The mathematicians also, and some learned interpreters of the Holy Scripture, affirm that the distance from the earth unto the highest of the firmament is less than that from thence to the lowest of the imperial heaven; and therefore conclude, if one should live two thousand years, and every day should travel a hundred miles, he should not in all that time reach the lowest of the firmament: and if, after that, he should also travel other two thousand years, he should not reach the highest of it; and from thence, four thousand years before he arrived at the lowest of the imperial heaven. O blessed Jesus! who makest us in a moment despatch so great a journey, and in one little instant bringest the souls of the just thither! So short is the way which brings us to heaven, that in an instant the righteous shall mount above the sun and moon, tread the stars under their feet, and enter into the heaven of the blessed.

Proportionable unto this distance of place is the advantage which the greatness of heaven hath above that of earth, and the same holds in their blessings. Let us mount, then, with this consideration thither, and from that height let us despise all the vanities of this world. All the kingdoms of the earth are but as a point, yea, but as a point of a point. He is higher than

the world, who cares not for the world. But of heaven Baruch could say, 'How great is the house of God! how large is the place of his possession!* It is great, and hath no end; high and immeasurable. If one who had ever been bred in an obscure dungeon, were told that above the earth there was a sun which enlightened the whole world, and cast his beams far above a hundred thousand leagues in circumference, all the discourses which could be made unto such a one would hardly make him conceive the brightness and beauty of the sun. Much less can the glory of those things of the other world be made to appear unto us, though set forth with the greatest beauty the world affords.

O what fools, then, are they, who, for one point of earth, lose so many leagues of heaven! who, for one short pleasure, lose things so immense and durable! O the greatness of the omnipotency and goodness of God, who hath prepared such celestial mansions and glorious things for the humble and little ones who serve him! My soul, O Lord my God, thirsteth after thee. I will behold thy face in righteousness, for in thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.† Whatsoever I can wish for, is present with thee; whatsoever can be desired, is in thee in abundance. Thou shalt make me drink of the river of thy pleasures; for with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light I shall see light.‡ How happy shall I be, when I shall see thee in thyself, and thee in me, and myself in thee, living in everlasting felicity, and enjoying the beatifical vision of thee for evermore! I will therefore trust in thee, my Lord God, for ever; for in the Lord Jehovah there is everlasting happiness, and joy without end.§

Chap. II.—*The greatness of the eternal honor of the just.*

The greatness of those goods of the other life are honors, riches, pleasures, and all the blessings both of body and soul; of each whereof we shall say something apart, and will begin with that of honor.

The nature of honor is to be a reward of virtue; and by how

* Baruch, chap. v.
† Psalm xvii. 15. Psalm xvi. 11.
‡ Psalm xxxvi. 8, 9.
§ Isaiah, xxvi. 4.

much greater the reward is, by so much the greater is the honor which is conferred. What honor shall it then be, when God shall give unto those who served him, not only to tread on the stars, to inhabit the palaces of heaven, to be lords of the world; but, transcending all that is created, and finding nothing amongst his riches sufficient to reward them, shall give them his own infinite essence to enjoy, as a recompense of their holiness, not for a day, but to all eternity!

The highest honor which the Romans bestowed on their greatest captains, was to grant them a day of triumph, and in that, permission to wear a crown of grass or leaves, which withered the day following. But the triumph of the just shall be eternal, and their never-fading crown is God himself. O most happy diadem! O most precious garland of the saints, which is of as great worth and value as God himself! Sapor king of the Persians was most ambitious of honor, and would therefore be called the brother of the sun and moon, and friend to the planets. This vain prince erected a most glorious throne, which he placed on high, and thereon sat in great majesty, having under his feet a globe of glass, whereon were artificially represented the motions of the sun, the moon, and stars; and to sit crowned above this fantastical heaven he esteemed as a great honor. What, then, shall be the honor of the just, who shall truly and really sit above the sun, the moon, and firmament, crowned by the hand of God himself; and that with a crown of gold, graven with the seal of holiness and the glory of honor? And this honor arrives at the height that Christ himself tells us, 'He who shall overcome, I will give him to sit with me in my throne, even as I have overcome, and have sitten with the Father in his throne.'* O happy labor of the victorious, and glorious combat of the just, against the vices and temptations of the world, whose victory deserves so inestimable a crown!

How great shall be that glory, when a just soul shall, in the presence of an infinite number of angels, sit in the same throne with Christ, and shall, by the just sentence of God, be praised for a conqueror over the world, and the invisible powers of

* Revelation, iii. 5.

hell! What can it desire more than to be partaker of all those divine goods, and even to accompany Christ in the same throne? O how cheerfully do they bear all afflictions for Christ, who, with a lively faith and certain hope, apprehend such sublime honors!

If the applause of men, and the good opinion which they have from others, be esteemed an honor, what shall be the applause of heaven, and the good opinion, not only of saints and angels, but of God himself, whose judgment cannot err? David took it for a great honor, that the daughter of his king was judged a reward of his valor. God surpasses this, and honors so much the service of his elect, that he pays their merits with no less a reward than himself.

Besides this, he who is most known, and is praised and celebrated for good and virtuous by the greatest multitude, is esteemed the most glorious and honorable person. But all this world is a solitude in respect of the citizens of heaven, where innumerable angels approve and praise the virtuous actions of the just; and they likewise are nothing, and all creatures, men and angels, but as a solitary wilderness in respect of the Creator. What man so glorious on earth, whose worth and valor have been known to all? Those who were born before him could not know him; but the just in heaven shall be known by all, past and to come, and by all the angels, and by the King of men and angels. Human fame is founded on the applause of mortal men, who, besides being less than angels, may be deceived, may speak untruth, and are most part of them sinners and wicked. How far must that honor exceed it, which is conferred on the just by the holy angels, and by those blessed and pure souls who cannot be deceived themselves, nor will deceive others! If we esteem it more to be honored by the kings of the earth, by the great men of the world, than by some ignorant peasants of some poor village; how ought we, then, to value the honor which shall be bestowed on us by the saints in heaven, who are the kings and grandees of the court of God, and are all replenished with most perfect and divine wisdom! All the honor of man is ridiculous, and his ambition no wiser who seeks it, than if one worm should desire to be honored by another. All the earth is but as a village, or rather some small

cottage, in respect of heaven. Let us not, therefore, strive for a name on earth, but that our names may be written in heaven.

If Saul thought the honor too much which was given to David by the damsels when they celebrated his victory in their songs, what shall it be to be celebrated by all the angels and saints in celestial responses? When a servant of God enters heaven, he shall be received with such divine music, all the blessed in heaven often repeating those words in the gospel, 'Well done, good servant and true! because thou hast been faithful in a few things, thou shalt be placed over much; enter into thy Master's joy.' Which words they shall repeat in choirs. This shall be a song of victory and honor above all the honors of the earth, being conferred by so great, so wise, so holy, and so authentic persons. Although the honor and applause which the just receive in heaven from the citizens of that holy city be incomparable, yet that honor and respect with which God himself shall treat them is far above it. It is expressed in no meaner similitude than that of the honor done by the servant unto his Lord; and therefore it is said, that God himself shall, as it were, serve the blessed in heaven at their table. It is much amongst men to be seated at the table of a prince; but for a king to serve his vassal, as if he himself were his servant, who ever heard it?

David, when he caused Mephibosheth (although the grandchild of a king, and the son of an excellent prince, unto whom David owed his life) to sit at his table,* he thought he did him a singular honor; but this favor never extended to wait on him. The honor which God bestows on the just, exceeds all human imagination; who, not satisfied with crowning all the blessed with his own divinity, giving himself to be possessed and enjoyed by them for all eternity, does also honor their victories and heroic actions with new crowns.

The just shall shine like the stars in the firmament; and if the least saint in heaven shall shine seven times more than the sun, what shall that light be, which shall outshine so many suns?

* 2 Samuel, ix. 10.

The honor of the just in heaven depends not, like that of the earth, on accidents and reports, nor is exposed to dangers, or measured by the discourse of others, but in itself contains its own glory and dignity. The Romans erected statues unto those whom they intended to honor, because, being mortal, there should something remain after death to make their persons and services, which they had done to the common weal, known to posterity. But in heaven there is no need of this artifice, because those who are there honored are immortal, and shall have in themselves some character engraved, as an evident and clear token of their noble victories and achievements. What greater honor than to be friends of God—sons, heirs, and kings in the realm of heaven!

St. John, in his Revelation,* sets forth this honor of the blessed in the twenty-four elders who were placed about the throne of God, and in that honor and majesty as every one was seated in his presence, and that on a throne, clothed in white garments, in sign of their perpetual joy; and crowned with a crown of gold, in respect of their dignities. To be covered, in the presence of kings, is the greatest honor they confer on the chiefest grandees: but God causes his servants to be crowned, and seated on thrones before him; and our Saviour, in the day of judgment, makes his disciples his fellow-judges. Certainly, greater honor cannot be imagined than that which the just receive in heaven: for if we look on him who honors, it is God; if with what, with no less joy than his own divinity, and other most sublime gifts; if before whom, before the whole theatre of heaven; if the continuance, for all eternity. Therefore let us so dispose of our lives here, and live so righteously and holily, that we may be thought worthy of that crown of glory which he hath prepared for all those who love and serve him.

Chap. III.—*Of the riches of the eternal kingdom of heaven.*

The riches in heaven are no less than the honors, though those are, as hath been said, inestimable. There can be no greater riches than to want nothing which is good, nor to need any thing which can be desired. And in that blessed life no

* chap. iv. 4.

good shall fail, nor no desire be unsatisfied; if, as the philosophers say, he is not rich who possesseth much, but he who desires nothing. There being in heaven no desire unaccomplished, there must needs be great riches. It was a position of the stoics, that he was not poor who wanted, but he who was necessitated. Since, then, in the celestial kingdom there is necessity of nothing, most rich is he who enters into it. By reason of these divine riches, Christ our Saviour, when he speaks in his parables of the kingdom of heaven, doth sometimes call it 'the hidden treasure,' 'the precious pearls.' For if divine happiness consists in the eternal possession of God, what riches may be compared with his who enjoys him; and what inheritance to that of the kingdom of heaven; and what possession more precious than the Divinity; and what more to be desired than the Creator of all things precious, who gives himself for a possession and riches unto the saints, to the end they should abhor those riches which are temporal, if by them the eternal are endangered?

Besides the possession of God, the just shall reign with Christ eternally in the kingdom of heaven, whose riches must needs be immense, since they are to be kings of so great and ample a kingdom. If the earth, compared with heaven, be but a point, and yet contains so many kingdoms; what shall that be which is but one kingdom, and yet extended over the whole heavens? Some famous mathematicians say of the imperial heaven, that it is so great, that if God should allow unto every one of the blessed a greater space than the whole earth, yet there would remain as much more to give unto others; and that the capaciousness of this heaven is so great, that it contains more than ten thousand and fourteen millions of miles. What wonder will it be to see a city so great, of such precious matter! Divines confess the capaciousness of this heaven to be immense, but are more willing to admire it than bold to measure it. It is all composed of matter far more beautiful and precious than gold, pearls, and diamonds. The heavens which we discover with the sun and all the other stars, are but the pavement of the eternal firmament; the inhabitants thereof tread under their feet the front of the brightest stars. The sun and moon were made to give light to this low elementary world; the heavenly

Lamb is the lamp which doth lighten the eternal Sion, the mansion of glory. What shall that place be, where the saints in the light of glory see the uncreate and inaccessible light of the Deity?

It is called a kingdom for its immense greatness, and a city for its great beauty and population. It is full of inhabitants of all nations and conditions; where are many thousands of angels, an infinite number of the just, even as many as have died since Abel; and thither also shall repair all who are to die unto the end of the world, and after judgment shall there remain for ever invested in their glorious bodies. Neither shall this populous city be inhabited with mean and base people, but with citizens so noble, rich, and just, that all of them shall be most holy and wise kings. How happy shall it be to live with such persons! The queen of Sheba, only to see Solomon, came from the end of the earth. To behold a king issue out of his palace, all the people flock together. What shall it then be, not only to see, but to live and reign with many angels, and converse with so many eminent and holy men! If there should now descend from heaven one of the prophets or Apostles, with what earnestness and admiration would every one strive to see and hear him! In the other world we shall hear and see them all. How admirable will it be to see thousands of thousands in all their beauty and greatness, and so many glorious bodies of saints in all their lustre! If one sun be sufficient to clear up the whole world here below, what joy shall it be to behold those innumerable suns in that region of light!

This kingdom of God is not like other kingdoms, which contain huge deserts, inaccessible mountains, and thick woods, nor is it divided into many cities and villages distant one from another; but this kingdom, although a most spacious region, is all one beautiful city. Who would not wonder if all England were but one city, and that as beautiful as Rome in the time of Augustus Cæsar, who found it of brick, and left it of marble! What a sight were that of Syria, if all a Jerusalem! What shall then be the celestial city of saints, whose greatness possesses the whole heavens, and is, as the holy Scriptures de-

scribe, (to exaggerate the riches of the saints) all of gold and precious stones! The gates of this city were, as St. John says, one entire pearl, and the foundation of the walls jasper, sapphire, chalcedon, emerald, topaz, jacinth, amethyst, and other most precious stones; the streets of fine gold, so pure that it seemed crystal, joining in one substance the firmness of gold and transparency of crystal, and the beauty both of one and the other. If all England were of sapphire, how would it amaze the world! How marvellous, then, will the holy city be, which, though extended over so many millions of leagues, is all of gold, pearl, and precious stones; or, to say better, of a matter of far more value, and peopled with such a multitude of beautiful citizens, who are as far above any imaginable number, as the capacity of this city is above any imaginable measure!

Of those incomparable riches, the blessed are not only to be lords, but kings. Neither is the celestial measure, nor this kingdom of heaven, less or poorer by having so many lords and kings. It is not like the kingdoms on earth, which permit but one king at once, and, if divided, become of less power and majesty; but is of such condition, that it is wholly possessed by all in general, and by each one in particular; like the sun, which warms all and every one, and not one less because it warms many. The effects of riches are much greater and more noble in heaven than they can be on earth. Wealth may serve us here to maintain our power, honors, and delights; but all the gold in the world cannot free us from weakness, infamy, or pain; it cannot make a calenture not to afflict us, or that the pains of the head or gout do not molest us, or that cares and fears shall not break our sleep. This only is to be had in heaven, where their power is so free from weakness, that one angel only, without army, guns, swords, or lance, could destroy at once one hundred and eighty thousand.

Besides, it is to be considered, that the great riches of the saints are not, like those of the kings of the earth, drawn from the tributes imposed on their vassals, which, though just, yet are not free from this ill condition, that what enriches the prince impoverishes the subject. The riches in heaven have no such

blemish; they are burdensome to none; and that which is given unto the servants of Christ, who reigns in heaven, is not taken from any.

If all the earth were of gold, and all the rivers of balsam, and all the rocks precious stones, wouldst thou not say that this is a great treasure? Know, that a treasure which exceeds gold as far as gold doth dirt, balsam water, or precious stones pebbles, remains as a reward for the just.

Wherefore we ought to lift up our souls, and alienate our affections from the frail felicity of these temporal goods of the earth, and say with David, 'Glorious things are said of thee, thou city of God!' Whatsoever pains and poverty we suffer here, we shall receive in glory so much the greater riches.

How poor and narrow a heart must that Christian have, who confines his love to things present, sweating and toiling for a small part of the goods of this world, which itself is so little! Why doth he content himself with some patch of the earth, when he may be lord of the whole heavens? Let us not, therefore, who are to die to-morrow, afflict ourselves for that which may perish sooner than we. Let us not toil to enjoy that which we are shortly to leave; but let us lay up our treasures in heaven, that kingdom of the blessed, where the riches, joys, and comforts are eternal, and can never be taken from us. I will therefore study to use this world with indifferency, and shall not be puffed up when things succeed happily, nor dejected when they fall out crossly; but shall bless God in all conditions. Whether I abound or want, whether rich or poor, I will bless the Lord at all times. His praises shall be ever in my mouth; I shall never complain of the necessities of this life, since, though all things fail me, the means of my salvation will not fail me; for even that want may be a means to obtain it.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the greatness of eternal pleasures.*

Honor, profit, and pleasures are distinct goods on earth, and are rarely found together. Honor is seldom a companion of profit, or profit of pleasure; and so the sick man drinks his purge, because it is profitable, how bitter soever. The pleasures of the world are for the most part mixed with some shame, and oftentimes with infamy: they are costly and expensive.

We cannot entertain our pleasures without diminishing our wealth. It is not so in eternal goods, in which to be honest is to be profitable; and to be profitable, delectable. Eternal honors are accompanied with immense riches, and they are both attended by pleasures without end. All this is signified by the Lord, when he received the faithful servant into glory; when he said, 'Well done, good servant and true! because thou hast been faithful in few things, I will place thee over many: enter into the joy of thy Lord.' First he honors him, commending him for a good and faithful servant; then enriches him, delivering many things into his hands; and so admits him into the joy and pleasure of his Lord; thereby signifying the greatness of this joy, not saying that this joy should enter into him, but that he should enter into joy, and into no other but that of his Lord. So great is the joy of that celestial paradise, that it wholly fills and embraces the blessed souls which enter into heaven, as into an immense sea of pleasure and delight. The joys of the earth enter into the hearts of those who possess them, but fill them not; because the capacity of man's heart is greater than they can satisfy: but the joys of heaven, in the blessed, enter into themselves, and fill and overflow them in all parts.

The multitude of joys in heaven is joined with their greatness; and so great they are, that the very least of them is sufficient to make us forget the greatest contents of the earth; and so many they are, that though a thousand times shorter, yet they would exceed all temporal pleasures, though a thousand times longer; but joining the abundance of those eternal joys with their immense greatness, that eternal bliss becomes ineffable. So great are the joys of heaven,* that all the arithmeticians of the earth cannot number them. The geometricians cannot measure them, nor the most learned in the world explicate them. The just shall rejoice in what is above them, which is the vision of God; in what is below them, which is the beauty of heaven and the blessed souls; in what is within them, which is the glorification of their bodies; in what is with them, which is the company of angels, and men made perfect. God shall feast all their senses

* 1 Cor. ii. 9. Isaiah, lxiv. 4.

with unspeakable delight; for he shall be their object, and shall be a mirror to the sight, music to the ear, sweetness to the taste, balsam to the smell, flowers to the touch. There shall be the clear light of summer, the pleasantness of the spring, the abundance of autumn, and the repose of winter.

The principal joy of the blessed is in the possession of God, whom they behold clearly, as he is in himself; for as honorable, profitable, and delectable are not divided in heaven, so the blessed souls have three gifts, essential and inseparable from that happy state, which correspond to those three kinds of blessings which the learned call vision, comprehension, and fruition. The first consists in the clear and distinct sight of God, which is given to the just, by which he receives an incomparable honor, since his works and virtues are rewarded, in the presence of the angels, with no less a crown and recompense than God himself. The second is the possession which the soul hath of God, as of his riches and inheritance. The third is the ineffable joy which accompanies this sight and possession; which is so great, that neither the blessed themselves, who have experience of it, nor the angels in heaven, are able to declare it. This joy hath two singular qualities, by which we may in some sort conceive the immensity of it. The first, that it is so powerful that it excludes all evil, pain, and grief. This only is so great a good, that many of the philosophers held it for the chief felicity of man; but herein was their error, that they judged that to be the good itself, which was but an effect or consequence of it: for so powerful is that love and joy which springs from the clear vision of God, that it is sufficient to convert hell into glory; insomuch as if, to the most tormented soul in hell, were added all the torments of the rest of the damned, both men and devils, and that God should vouchsafe him but one glimpse of his knowlege; that only clear vision, though in the lowest degree, were sufficient to free him from all those evils, both of sin and pain. There is no joy in this world so intense, which can suspend the grief we suffer from a finger that is cutting off. Griefs do more easily bereave us of the sense of pleasure, than pleasures do of pain. Yet such is the greatness of that sovereign joy in heaven, that it alone is sufficient to drown all the grief and torments both in

earth and hell; and there is no pain in the world able to diminish the least part of it.

All those joys of the blessed, both in soul and body, which are innumerable, have their source and origin from that unspeakable joy of the clear vision of God.

And how can the joy be less which proceeds from such a cause, who gives himself to be possessed by men?—that joy being the very same which God enjoys, and which suffices to make God himself blessed with a blessedness equal to himself. Therefore, not without great mystery, it is said, 'Enter into the joy of thy Lord.' It is not said simply into joy, but, to determine the greatness of it, it was his own joy—that joy by which he himself becomes happy.

We are to consider that there is nothing in this world which hath not for its end some manner of perfection; and that those things which are capable of reason and knowlege, have in that perfection a particular joy and complacency; which joy is greater or lesser, according as that end is more or less perfect. Since, therefore, the divine perfection is infinitely greater than that of all the creatures, the joy of God, which is in himself, (for he hath no end or perfection distinct from himself) is infinitely greater than that of all things besides. This joy, out of his infinite goodness, he hath been pleased to make the holy angels and blessed souls partakers of, communicating unto the just his own felicity. Therefore the joy of saints, which is that of the beatifical vision, wherein consist the joy and happiness of God, must needs be infinite and ineffable; and all the happiness and content of this world, in respect of it, are bitter as aloes or wormwood. By how much a delectable object is more nearly and straitly united to the faculty, by so much greater is the joy and delight which it produces. Therefore God, who is the most excellent and delightful object, being in the beatifical vision united to the soul with the most intimate union that can be in a pure creature, must necessarily cause a most inexplicable joy, incomparably greater than all the joys, real or imaginable, which can be produced by creatures now existent or possible. For as the divine perfection encloseth within itself all the perfections of things created, possible, and imaginable; so the joy which it causeth in the souls of the blessed

must be infinitely greater than all other joys which either have or can be caused by the creature. If there were in the world a man as wise as an angel, we would all desire to see him, as the queen of Sheba did Solomon. But if to this wisdom were joined the strength of Samson, the victories of Maccabeus, the affability of David, the friendliness of Jonathan, the liberality of the emperor Titus, and to all this the beauty and comeliness of Absalom; who would not love, and desire to live and converse with this admirable person? Why, then, do we not love the sight of God, in whom all these perfections and graces are infinitely united, and which we ourselves, if we serve him, are to enjoy as if they were our own?

Oh how great and delightful a theatre shall it be to see God as he is, with all his infinite perfections, and the perfections of all creatures, which are eminently contained in the Deity! How admirable were that spectacle, where were represented all that are or have been pleasant or admirable in the world! If one were placed where he might behold the seven wonders of the world, the sumptuous banquets of Ahasuerus, the rare shows exhibited by the Romans, the wealth of Crœsus, the Assyrian and Roman monarchs, and all these jointly together, who would not be transported with joy and wonder at so admirable a sight! But more happy were he on whom all these were bestowed, together with a thousand years of life wherein to enjoy them. Yet all these were nothing in respect of the beatifical vision of God, in whom those, and all the perfections, that either are, or have been, or possibly can be, are contained. Whatever else is great and delightful in the world, together with all the pleasure and perfections that all the men of the world have obtained, or shall obtain to the world's end;—all the wisdom of Solomon, all the science of Plato and Aristotle, all the strength of Aristomenes and Milo, all the beauty of Paris and Adonis;—if they should give all these to one person, it would have no comparison, and would seem a loathsome thing, being compared only to the delight which will be enjoyed in seeing God for all eternity; because in him will be seen a theatre of bliss and greatness, wherein are comprised, as in one, the greatness of all creatures. In him will be found all the riches of gold, the delightfulness of the meadows, the brightness of the

sun, the pleasantness of music, the beauty of the heavens, the comfortable smell of amber, the contentedness of all the senses, and all that can be either admired or enjoyed.

To this may be added, that this inestimable joy of the vision of God is to be multiplied into innumerable other joys; into as many as there are blessed spirits and souls who shall enjoy the sight of God. In regard every one is to have a particular contentment of the bliss of every one, and because the blessed spirits and souls are innumerable, the joys likewise of every one will be innumerable. For as every saint shall love another equally as himself, so he shall receive equal joy from his happiness to that of his own; and if he shall rejoice in the happiness of those equal unto himself, how much shall he rejoice in the happiness of God, whom he loves better than himself!

Let us therefore rejoice, who are Christians, unto whom so great blessings are promised. Let us rejoice that heaven was made for us, and let this hope banish all sadness from our hearts. Let those grieve, and be melancholy, who have no hope of heaven, and not we, unto whom Christ hath promised the blessedness of his glory. Let this hope comfort us, this joy refresh us, and let us now begin to enjoy that here which we are ever hereafter to possess; for hope is an anticipation of joy. On this we ought to place all our thoughts, turning our eyes from all the goods and delights of the earth. From hence I will shut up the windows of my senses, the things of the earth seeming unto me unworthy to be looked on, after the contemplation of the heavenly, in the hope whereof I will only rejoice. O Father of light! grant me the light of thy glory, that one day I may clearly see that which I now believe by the light of faith. O eternal Word! bestow thyself on me, that I may possess in heaven that which I see by hope on earth. O Holy Ghost! make me partaker of thine infinite beauty, to the end I may one day enjoy that which I now embrace by charity. Lord, I am wholly thine; be thou wholly mine: thou art my eternity, thou art my salvation and hope; grant, Lord, that I may praise thee everlastingly. I desire nothing in heaven or earth but thyself; for thou art the God of my heart, and the only part which I pretend unto in the eternity of eternities.

CHAP. V.—*The excellency and happiness of the souls and bodies of the just in the life eternal.*

When the Hebrews would express a blessed person, they did not call him blessed, in the singular, but blessings, in the abstract and plural. And so in the first Psalm, in place of *beatus*, the Hebrews say "beatitudes;" and certainly with much reason, since the blessed enjoy as many blessings as they have powers or senses; blessings in their understanding, will, and memory; blessings in their sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. The understanding shall live there with a clear and supreme wisdom; the will with an inflamed love; the memory with an eternal representation of the good which is past; the senses with a continual delectation in their objects: finally, all that is man shall live in perpetual joy, comfort, and blessedness.

And to begin with the life and joy of the understanding. The blessed, besides that supreme and clear knowlege of the Creator, shall know the divine mysteries, the secrets of providence, the frame and making of the world, the whole artifice of nature, the motions of the stars, the properties of the planets, and of all created entities; all which they shall not only know jointly and in mass, but clearly and distinctly without confusion. This shall be the life of the understanding, which shall feast itself with such high and certain truths. The knowlege of the greatest wise men and philosophers of the world, even in things natural, is full of ignorance and deceit, because they know not the substance of things, but through the shell of accidents: so that the most simple peasant arriving at the height of glory, shall be replenished with a knowlege, in respect of which the wisdom of Solomon and Aristotle were but ignorance and barbarism.

What content were it to behold all the wise men of the world, and the principal inventors and masters of sciences and faculties, met together in one room:—Adam, Abraham, Moses, Solomon, Zoroaster, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Homer, Trismegistus, Solon, Lycurgus, Hippocrates, Euclides, Archimedes, and all the doctors of the church! How venerable were this junto! how admirable this assembly! and what journeys would men make to behold them! If, then, to see such imperfect scraps of knowlege divided amongst so many

men would cause so great admiration, what shall be the joy of the blessed, when each particular person shall see his own understanding furnished with that true and perfect wisdom whereof all theirs is but a shadow? Who can express the joy they shall receive by the knowlege of so many truths? What contentment would it be to one, if at once they should show unto him whatever there is, and what is done in the whole earth!—the fair building, the fruit trees of so great diversity, all living creatures of so great variety, all the birds and fishes, the metals so rich, all people and nations farthest remote. Certainly it would be a sight of wonderful satisfaction. But what will it be to see all this, whatsoever there is in the earth, together with all that there is in heaven, and above heaven? Some philosophers, in the discovery of a natural truth, or the invention of some rare curiosity, have been transported with a greater joy and content than their senses were capable of. For this, Aristotle spent so many sleepless nights; for this, Pythagoras travelled into many strange nations; for this, Cartes deprived himself of all his wealth; and Archimedes never removed his thoughts, night nor day, from the inquisition of some mathematical demonstration. He spent many days in finding out, by his mathematical science, how much gold would serve to gild a crown of silver; and having found it, he fetched divers skips, and cried out, "I have found it, I have found it." If, then, the finding out of so mean a truth could so transport this great artist, what joy shall the saints receive, when God shall discover unto them those high secrets, and, above all, that sublime mystery of the Trinity of Persons in the unity of essence? The blessed shall receive more knowlege in one instant than the wise of the world have obtained with all their watchings, travels, and experiences. Aristotle, for the great love he bore to knowlege, held that the chief felicity of man consisted in contemplation. If he found so much joy in natural speculation, what shall we find in divine, and in the clear vision of God? As the understanding shall be applied to the prime truth, which is God himself; so shall the beatified will be inseparably joined to the essence of the divine goodness. There shall the memory also live, representing unto us the divine benefits, and rendering eternal thanks unto the Author of all. The soul, rejoicing in its own happiness to have

received so great mercies for so small merits, and remembering the dangers from which it hath been freed by divine favor, shall sing that verse in the Psalm, 'The snare is broken, and we are delivered.' The remembrance of acts of virtue and good works shall be a particular joy unto the blessed, both in respect they were a means of our happiness, and of pleasing so gracious and good a Lord.

In heaven we shall not only joy in the memory of those things wherein we have pleased God in complying with his holy will, and in ordering and disposing our life in his service, but also in the troubles and dangers we have past. The memory of death is bitter to those who are to die; but unto the just, who have already passed it, and are secure in heaven, nothing can be more pleasant; for they now, to their unspeakable joy, know themselves to be free from death, infirmity, and danger.

There also shall live the will, rejoicing to see all its desires accomplished with the abundance and sweet society of so many felicities, being necessitated to love so admirable a beauty as the soul enjoys and possesses in God Almighty. Love makes all things sweet; and as it is a torment to be separated from what one loves, so it is a great joy and felicity to remain with the beloved: and therefore the blessed loving God more than themselves, how unspeakable a comfort must it be to enjoy God, and the society of those whom they so much affect! The love of the mother makes her delight more in the sight of her own son, though foul, and of worse condition than that of his neighbors. The love, then, of the saints, one towards another, being greater than that of mothers to their children, and every one of them being so perfect and worthy to be beloved, and every one enjoying the sight of the same God, how comfortable must be their conversation! Seneca said, that the possession of what good soever was not pleasing without a partner. The possession, then, of the chief good must be much more delightful with the society of such excellent companions. If a man were to remain alone for many years in some beautiful palace, it would not please him so well as a desert with company; but the city of God is full of most noble citizens, who are all sharers of the same blessedness. This conversation also being

with wise and holy personages, shall much increase their joy; for if one of the greatest troubles of human life be to suffer the ill condition, follies, and impertinences of rude and ill-bred people, and the greatest content to converse with sweet, pious, and learned friends; what shall that divine conversation be in heaven, where there is none ill-conditioned, none impious, none froward, but all peace, piety, love, and sweetness? Every one shall then rejoice as much in the felicity of another, as in his own ineffable joy, and shall possess as many joys as he shall find companions. There are all things which are necessary or delightful—all riches, ease, and comfort. Where God is, nothing is wanting. All there know God without error, behold him without end, praise him without weariness, love him without tediousness, and in this love repose themselves in God. Besides all this, the security which the will shall have in the eternal possession of this felicity, is an unspeakable joy. The fear that the good things which we enjoy are to end; or at least may end, mingle wormwood with our joys; and pleasures do not relish where there is danger. But this celestial happiness, being eternal, neither shall nor can end, diminish, or be endangered; but, with this security, adds a new joy unto those others of the saints.

Besides the powers of the soul, the senses also shall live, nourished with the food of most proportionable and delightful objects. The eyes shall ever be recreated with the light of the most glorious and beautiful bodies of the saints. One sun suffices to cheer up the whole world; what joy, then, shall one of the blessed conceive in beholding as many suns as there are saints, and in seeing himself one of them!

But, above all, with what content and admiration shall we behold the glorious body of Christ our Redeemer, in comparison of whose splendor that of all the saints shall be as darkness, and from whose wounds shall issue forth rays of a particular brightness! Besides all this, the glory and greatness of the empyreal heaven, and the lustre of that celestial city, shall infinitely delight the blessed citizens; the ears shall be filled with most harmonious music, as may be gathered from many passages in Scripture. If the harp of David delighted Saul so much as to assuage the fury of his passions, cast forth devils,

and free him of that melancholy whereof the wicked spirit made use; and the lyre of Orpheus wrought such wonders both with men and beasts; what shall the harmony of heaven do? What delight, then, will it be, not only to hear the voice of one instrument played on by an angel, but the voices of thousands of angels, together with the admirable melody of musical instruments! What sweetness will it be to hear so many heavenly musicians, those millions of angels, who will be sounding forth their hallelujahs unto the great God of heaven and earth! O how I desire to be freed from this body, that I might hear and enjoy it! Happy were I, and for ever happy, if after death I might hear the melody of those hymns and hallelujahs, which the citizens of that celestial habitation, and the squadrons of those blessed spirits, sing in praise of the eternal King. This is that sweet music which St. John heard in the Revelation, when the inhabitants of heaven sang, 'Let all the world bless thee, O Lord! To thee be given all honor and dominion for a world of worlds.' Amen.

The smell shall be feasted with the odor which issues from those beautiful bodies, more sweet than musk or amber; and from the whole heaven, more fragrant than jessamines or roses.

The taste also in that blessed country shall not want the delight of its proper object: for although the saints shall not there feed, which were to necessitate that happy state unto something besides itself; yet they shall have the delight of meat, without the trouble of eating, by reason of the great delicacy of this celestial taste. The glory of the saints is often signified in holy Scripture under the name of supper, banquet, manna. It cannot be expressed how great shall be the delight and sweetness of taste, which eternally shall be found in heaven. If Esau sold his birthright for a dish of lentil pottage, well may we mortify our taste here on earth, that we may enjoy that perfect and incomparable one in heaven.

The touch also shall there receive a most delightful entertainment: all they tread on shall seem unto the just to be flowers, and the whole dispositions of their bodies shall be ordered with a most exquisite temperature. For as the torments of the damned in hell are most expressed in that sense,

so the bodies of the blessed in heaven shall, in that sense, receive a special joy and refreshment. And as the heat of that infernal fire, without light, is to penetrate even to the entrails of those miserable persons; so the brightness of the celestial light is to penetrate the bodies of the blessed, and fill them with such an incomparable delight and sweetness, that all and every part of the body, in general and particular, shall be sensible of a most admirable pleasure and content.

The humanity of Christ our Redeemer is to be the chief and principal joy of all the senses; and therefore as the intellectual knowlege of the divinity of Christ is the joy and essential reward of the soul, so the sensitive knowlege of the humanity of Christ is the chief and essential joy of the senses, and the utmost end and felicity whereunto they can aspire. This, it seems, was meant by our Saviour in St. John, where, speaking unto the Father, he said, 'This is life eternal,'—that is, essential blessedness,—'that they know thee the only true God,' (in which is included the essential glory of the soul,) 'and him whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ,' in which is included the essential blessedness of the senses.

It is also much to be observed, that the blessed souls shall be crowned with some particular joys, which the very angels are not capable of; for they only shall receive the crown of martyrdom, since no angel can have the glory to have shed his blood and died for Christ, neither to have overcome the flesh, and by combat and wrestlings subjected it unto reason. Men shall have the glory of their bodies, and joy of their senses, which the angels cannot have; for as they want the one joy of the spirit, which is the flesh, so they must want the glory of the victory. Neither shall they have this great joy of mankind, in being redeemed by Christ from sin, and from as many damnations into hell as they have committed sins; and to see themselves now freed and secure from that horrid evil, and so many enemies of the soul, which they had, which must needs produce a most unspeakable joy.

The souls of the blessed shall not only be glorious, but their very bodies shall be filled with glory, and invested with a light seven times brighter than that of the sun; for although it be said in the gospel, 'that the just shall shine as the sun;' yet

Isaiah the prophet says, that the sun in those days shall shine seven times more than it now doth. This light, being the most beautiful and excellent of corporeal qualities, shall clothe the just as with a garment of most exceeding lustre and glory. What emperor was ever clad in such a purple? what human majesty ever cast forth beams of such splendor?

Herod, on the day of his greatest magnificence, could only clothe himself in a robe of silver admirably wrought, which did not shine of itself, but by reflection of the sun-beams, which then in his rising cast his rays on it; and yet this little glittering was sufficient to make the people salute him as a god. What admiration shall it then cause to behold the glorious body of a saint, not clothed in gold and purple, not adorned with diamonds or rubies, but more resplendent than the sun itself? Put all the brightest diamonds together, all the fairest rubies, all the most beautiful carbuncles; let an imperial robe be embroidered with them all; all this will be no more than as coals in respect of a glorious body, which shall be all transparent, bright, and resplendent, far more than if it were set with diamonds. The garments which we wear here, how rich soever, are rather an affront and disgrace unto us than an ornament, since they argue an imperfection and a necessity of our bodies, which we are forced to supply with something of another nature. Besides, our clothes were given as a mark of Adam's fall in Paradise, and we wear them as a penance enjoined for his sin. What fool is so sottish as to bestow precious trimming on a penitential garment?

But such are not the ornaments of the saints in heaven; their lustre is their own, not borrowed from their garments, but within themselves; each part of them being more transparent than crystal, and brighter than the sun. It is related in the Revelation as a great wonder, 'that a woman was seen clothed with the sun, and crowned with twelve stars.' This, indeed, was far more glorious than any ornament on earth; yet this is short of the ornament of the saints, whose lustre is proper to themselves—intrinsically their own—not taken and borrowed from something without them, as was that of the woman's. The state and majesty with which this gift of splendor shall adorn the saints, shall be incomparably greater than

that of the mightiest kings. It were a great majesty in a prince, when he issues forth of his palace by night, to be attended by a thousand pages, each having a lighted torch; but were those torches stars, it were nothing to the state and glory of a saint in heaven, who carries with him a light equal to that of the sun seven times doubled; and what greater glory than not to need the sun, which the whole world needs? Where the just is, there shall be no night; for wheresoever he goes, he carries the day along with him. St. Paul, beholding the gift of clarity in the humanity of Christ, remained for some days without sense or motion. St. John, only beholding it in the face of our Saviour, fell down as if dead, his mortal eyes not being able to endure the lustre of so great a majesty. St. Peter, because he saw something of it in the transfiguration of Christ, was so transported with the glory of the place, that he had a desire to have continued there for ever. What sight more glorious than to behold so many saints, like so many suns, shine with such incomparable lustre and beauty?

What light, then, will that of heaven be, proceeding from so many lights, or, to speak more properly, from so many suns? How great, then, shall the brightness of that holy city be, where many suns do inhabit? And if, by the sight of every one in particular, their joy shall be more augmented by the sight of a number without number, what measure can that joy have which results from so beautiful a spectacle?

The bodies of the saints, endowed with this light, which they receive from the gift of clarity, are impassible, and cannot suffer from any thing; they have an agility to move from place to place with speed and subtlety like light; to have their way free and pervious through all places, and to penetrate wheresoever they please.

By this gift of impassibility their bodies are freed from all miseries which our bodies now suffer, the cold of winter, the heat of summer, infirmities, griefs, tears, and the necessity of eating, which one necessity includes many others. Let us but consider what cares and troubles men undergo, only to sustain their lives. The laborer spends his days in ploughing, sowing, and reaping; the shepherd suffers cold and heat in watching of his flock. What dangers are passed in all estates, only to be

sure to eat! From all these the gift of impassibility exempts the just. The care of clothing troubles us also little less than that of feeding, and that of preserving the health much more: for as our necessities are doubly increased by sickness, so are our cares; from all which he who is impassible is free, and not only from the grief and pain of this life, but if he should enter into hell, it would not burn one hair of him. The gift of agility is most great, which easily appears by the troubles and inconveniences of a long journey, which (howsoever we are accommodated) is not performed without much weariness, and oftentimes with danger both of health and life. A king, though he pass in a coach or litter, after the most easy and commodious way of travelling, must pass over rocks, hills, and rivers, and spend much time; but, with the gift of agility, the glorious bodies of the saints, in the twinkling of an eye, can traverse all the heavens, visit the earth, return unto the sun and firmament, and observe what is above the stars in the empyreal heaven. To this noble gift of agility shall be annexed that of subtlety, by which their glorious bodies shall have their way free and pervious through all places; no impediment shall obstruct their motion; there shall be no enclosure or prison to them. They shall with greater ease pass through the middle of a rock, than an arrow through the air. Christ showed the subtlety of his glorious body while he issued out of his tomb, not opening it, and entered into the hall where the Apostles were, the gates being shut.

Finally, the servants of Christ shall be there so replenished with all goods, both of soul and body, that there shall be nothing more for them to desire. What wouldst thou then, my body? what is it thou desirest, my soul? In heaven you shall find all you desire. If you are pleased with beauty, there the just shine as the sun; if you are pleased with any delight, there is not only one, but a sea of pleasure, which God keeps in store for the blessed, wherewith it shall quench their thirst. I will then from henceforth raise my desires unto that place where only they can be accomplished. I will not be ambitious after things of the earth, which cannot satisfy me; but will look after those in heaven, which are only great, only eternal, and can only fill the capacity of my heart.

What an advantageous bargain would it be, if one could buy a kingdom for a straw! Yet so it is; for that which is no more than a straw, we may purchase the kingdom of heaven. Certainly felicity, riches, and earthly delights are no more than a straw, compared with the glory of heaven. How foolish would he be, who, having a basket full of chips, would not give one of them for a hundred weight of gold! This is the vanity of man, who for earthly goods will not receive those of heaven.

If men undergo and suffer such hazards for a kingdom which is momentary, and that not for themselves, but for another, what ought we to do for those eternal riches which are to be our own, and for the kingdom of heaven, wherein we expect such immense honors, riches, and pleasures? Let us take courage; it is the kingdom of heaven we hope for; joys, riches, and honors eternal are those which are promised us. What pity is it, that for some short pleasure we should lose joys so great and eternal! because we will not bear some slight injury here, should be deprived of celestial honor there! for not restoring what we have unjustly taken, should forfeit the divine riches of heaven! That which the world offers in her best pleasures, is but shells, offals, and parings; but that whereunto God invites is a full table; for which reason it is called in Scripture the great supper;—not a dinner, because after dinner we use to rise and go about other occasions and employments;—but after supper there are no more labors—all is rest and repose. The principal dish which is served in at this great supper, is the clear vision of God, and all his divine perfections; after that, a thousand joys of the soul in all its powers and faculties; then a thousand pleasures of the senses, with all the endowments of a glorified body. Those latter are, as it were, the dessert of this divine banquet; and if the dessert be such, what shall be the substance of the feast?

My Lord, my God, when shall I see the day, the happy day, in which I shall come and appear in thy heavenly mansion to eat and drink with thee in thy kingdom, and to sit at thy table, there to behold the majesty of thy glory, which is the only object of my eternal bliss? O thou resplendent Star of the east, let thy eternal light shine in the horizon of my soul; then all these thick vapors of terrene affections will be dispersed.

Lord, I have placed all my hopes in eternity; I find no more rest here in these short moments, than the dove of the deluge did on the waters. O God, thou art my eternal felicity. To thee be glory, honor, and thanksgiving, for ever, evermore. Amen.

CHAP. VI.—*Considerations of eternal evils, and of the miserable state of the damned.*

The evils of hell are truly evils, and so purely such, that they have no mixture of good. In that place of unhappiness, all is eternal sorrow and complaint. There is no room for comfort; there shall not be the least good which may give ease; nor shall there want a concourse of all evils which may add affliction. No good is to be found there, where all goods are wanting; neither can there be want of any evil, where all evils whatsoever are to be found; and by the want of all good, and the collection of all evils, every evil is augmented. In the creation of the world, God gave a praise to every nature, saying, 'It was good;' but when all were created and joined together, he said, 'They were very good;' because the conjunction of many goods advances the good of each particular; and in the same manner the conjunction of many evils makes them all worse. What shall heaven then be, where there is a concourse of all goods, and no evils? And what hell, where there are all evils, and no good? Certainly the one must be exceeding good, and the other exceeding evil. In hell there is the pain of loss, and that so rigorous, that in depriving the damned soul of one only thing, they take from him all good things; for they deprive him of God, in whom they are all comprised. He who is condemned by human laws to the loss of his goods, may, if he live, gain others, at least in another kingdom, if he fly thither; but he who is deprived of God, where shall he find another God? And who can fly from hell? God is the greatest good, and it is therefore the greatest evil to be deprived of him, because evil is the privation of good; and that is to be esteemed the greatest evil, which is a privation of the greatest good, which is God, and must certainly, therefore, cause more grief and resentment in the damned, than all the punishment and torment of hell besides. And in regard

there is in hell an eternal privation of God, who is the chief good, the pains of loss, whereby one is deprived for ever of the greatest of all goods—this privation will cause the greatest pain and torment. If the burning of a hand cause an insufferable pain; if a bone displaced or out of joint causeth intolerable grief; how shall he be tormented, and what pain shall he suffer, who is eternally separated from God, who is the chief end for which man was created? I dare confidently say, the loss of heaven, and the omission of glory, are far more bitter than all those pains which are to be suffered in hell. And this is such a loss, that the sinner shall be deprived even of the hope of what is good, and shall be left for ever in that profound poverty and necessity, without expectation of remedy or relief. And what greater want can any one have, than to want all things, and even hope of obtaining any thing? We are amazed at the poverty of holy Job, who, from a prince and a rich man, came to lie on a dunghill, having nothing left but a piece of a broken pot to scrape away the putrefaction from his sores. But even this shall fail the damned, who would take it for a great regale to have a dunghill for their bed, instead of the burning coals of that eternal fire. The rich glutton in the gospel, accustomed to drink in cups of crystal, to eat in silver, and to be clothed in silks and curious linen, can tell us how far this infernal poverty extends, when he demanded not wines of Cadiz, but a little cold water, and that not in cups of gold or crystal, but on the finger's end of a leper. This rich glutton came to such an extremity, that he would esteem it a great felicity if they would give him one drop of water, although it were from the filthy and loathsome finger of a leper; and yet this was also wanting to him. Let the rich of the world see to what poverty they are like to come, if they trust in their riches. Let them know they shall be condemned to the loss of all which is good. Let them reflect on him who was accustomed to be clothed in precious garments, to tread on carpets, to sleep on down, to dwell in spacious palaces, now naked, thrown on burning coals, and packed up in some narrow corner of that infernal dungeon.

And this poverty, or want of all good of the damned, is accompanied with a most opprobrious infamy and dishonor, when

by public sentence they shall be deprived, for their enormous offences, of eternal glory, and reprehended in the presence of saints and angels by the Lord of heaven and earth. A most intolerable thing is hell, and most horrible are the torments; yet if one should place a thousand hells before me, nothing could be so horrible unto me, as to be excluded from the honor of glory, to be hated of Christ, and to hear from him these words, 'I know you not.'

This infamy we may in some sort declare under the example of a mighty king, who, having no heir to succeed him in his kingdom, took up a beautiful boy at the church-door, and nourished him as his son, and in his testament commanded that if, at ripe years, his conditions were virtuous, and suitable to his calling, he should be received as lawful king, and seated in his royal throne; but if he should prove vicious and unfit for government, they should punish him with infamy, and send him to the galleys. The kingdom obeyed his command, and provided him excellent tutors; but he became so untoward and ill inclined, that he would learn nothing, flung away his books, and spent his time amongst other boys in making houses of dirt and other fooleries; for which his governors chastised him, and advised him of what was fitting and most imported him. But all did no good; only, when they reprehended him, he would weep, not because he repented, but because they hindered his sport; and the next day did the same. The more he grew in age, the worse he became; and although they informed him of the king's testament, and of what behoved him, all was to no purpose, until at last, all, being weary of his ill conditions, declared him unworthy to reign, despoiled him of his royal ornaments, and condemned him with infamy to the galleys. What greater ignominy can there be than this, to lose a kingdom, and to be made a galley-slave?

A more ignominious and a more lamentable tragedy is that of a Christian condemned to hell, who was snatched by God from the gates of death, adopted his son with condition, that if he kept his commandment, he should reign in heaven, and if not, he should be condemned to hell; yet he forgetting these obligations, without respect to his tutors or masters, who exhorted him, both by their doctrine and example, what was fit-

ting for a child of God. But he, neither moved by their advice nor the chastisement of Heaven, by which God overthrew his vain intentions, and thwarted his unlawful pleasures, only lamented his temporal losses, and not his offences; and at the time of his death was sentenced to be deprived of the kingdom of heaven, and precipitated into hell. What infamy can be greater than that of the damned soul?

If it be a great infamy to suffer death by human justice for some crimes committed, how great an infamy will it be to be condemned by divine justice as a traitor and perfidious rebel to God? Besides this bitterness of pains, the damned persons shall be eternally branded with the infamy of their offences, so that they shall be scorned and scoffed at by the devils themselves. Men and angels shall detest them as infamous and wicked traitors to their King, God, and Redeemer. And as fugitive slaves are marked and cauterised with burning irons, so this infamy, by some mark of ugliness and deformity, shall be stamped on their faces and bodies. (Isaiah, chap. xiii.) So ignominious shall be the body of a sinner, that when his soul returns to enter it, it shall be amazed to behold it so terrible, and shall wish it were rather in the same state as when it was half eaten up with worms.

And that which adds misery to their calamity, they shall be banished from heaven, and made prisoners in the profound bowels of the earth; a place most remote from heaven, and the most calamitous of all others, where they shall neither see the sun by day, nor the stars by night; where all shall be horror and darkness, a land covered with the obscurity of death, a land of sulphur and burning pitch, a land of pestilence and corruption. Into this land of punishment and torments shall be banished the enemies of God.

What a grief will it be to see themselves deprived of the palaces of heaven, the society of saints, and that happy country of the living, where all is peace, charity, and joy; where all shines, all pleases, and all parts resound with hallelujahs! If the damned had no other punishment than to see themselves banished amongst devils into a place not far distant from heaven, sad as night, without the sight or comfort of sun or moon, for all eternity, it were a torment insufferable.

It was a great tyranny in Alexander, after he had cut off the nose, ears, and lips of Callisthenes, to cast so worthy a person into a dungeon, only accompanied with a dog:* a spectacle indeed lamentable, to see so discreet a man used like a brute, and not have the company of one who might comfort him. But the damned would take it for a favor to have the company of dogs or lions, rather than that of their own parents.

The tyrants of Japonia invented a strange torment for those who confessed Christ. They hung them with their heads downwards, half their bodies into a hole digged in the earth, which they filled with snakes, lizards, and other poisonous vermin. But even these were better companions than those infernal dragons of the pit of hell, whereunto not half, but the whole body of the miserable sinner shall be plunged. The Romans, when they punished any as a parricide, to express the heinousness of the act, shut him up in a sack with a serpent, an ape, and a cock. What a horror shall it be in hell, when a damned person shall be shut up with so many millions of devils! Here none will live near a pest-house or ill neighbor. Think on what neighbors there are in hell. Cato counselled those who were to take a farm, to have a special care what neighbors it had. Themistocles, being to sell a certain manor, caused the crier to proclaim that he had good neighbors. How comes one, then, to purchase hell at so dear a rate as the price of his soul, having such cursed neighbors, where all will abhor him? Their disquietness and ranting will be insufferable; and the very sight and ugliness of them will affright and astonish him.

How grievous is the banishment into that place where none wishes well unto another; where the fathers hate their sons, and the sons abhor their fathers; where the son shall say unto the father, "Cursed be thou, father! to all eternity, because, by an unjust inheritance, thou hast been the cause of my damnation;" and the father shall answer him, "Cursed be thou, son! for, to the end I might leave thee a rich inheritance, I stuck not to gain it by unjust means!"

In other banishments, when parents or friends meet in a country far from home, they endeavor to comfort one another;

* Senec. Suidas.

and even enemies are then reconciled. But, in this banishment of hell, friends abhor friends, and parents hate and are hated by their children.

To this may be added, that in this banishment of the damned, the exiles are not allowed the liberty of other banished persons, who, within the isle or region of relegation, may go or move whither they please. But not so the damned in hell; because the place of their exile is also a prison, a horrid and stinking prison, wherein many millions of souls shall for ever lie fettered in chains; for chains, or something answerable unto them, shall not there be wanting. Whereon it is observed by the learned, that the wicked spirits shall be fastened to fire, or certain fiery bodies, from which the pains they shall receive shall be incredible; being thereby deprived of their natural liberty, as it were,—fettered with manacles and bolts, so that they are not able to remove from that place of misery.* It were a great torment to have burning irons cast on our hands and feet. But this, and much more, shall be in hell, where those fiery bodies, which are to serve instead of shackles and fetters, are to be of terrible forms, proportionable unto their offences, and shall with their very sight affright them.

Besides, the bodies of the damned, after the final judgment passed, shall be so straitened and crowded together in that infernal dungeon, that the holy Scripture compares them to grapes in the wine-press, which press one another till they burst. Most barbarous was that torment inflicted on some unfortunate persons. They put certain rings of iron, stuck full of sharp points of needles, about their arms and feet, in such manner, as they could not move without pricking and wounding themselves; then they compassed them about with fire, to the end that, standing still, they might be burnt alive; and if they stirred, the sharp points pierced the flesh with more intolerable pains than the fire. What shall then be the torment of the damned, where they shall burn eternally without dying, and without possibility of removing from the place assigned them! where whatsoever they touch shall be fire and sulphur, into

* Aug. de Civitat. lib. i. cap. 10. Less. de Perfect. Divin. lib. xiii. cap. 30.

which their bodies at the latter days shall be plunged! Neither shall unsavory smells, so proper unto prisons, be wanting in that infernal dungeon. For, first, that fire of sulphur, being pent in without vent or respiration, shall send forth a poisonous scent; and if a match of brimstone be offensive here, what shall such a mass of that stuff be in hell? Secondly, the bodies of the damned shall cast forth a most horrible stink of themselves, and that more or less, according to the quality of their sins.

Actiolinus the tyrant, as Paulus Jovius writes, had many prisons full of torments, miseries, and ill smells, insomuch that men took it for a happiness to die rather than to be imprisoned; because, being loaded with irons, afflicted with hunger, and poisoned with the pestilential smell of those who died in prison, and were not suffered to be removed, they came to end in a slow but most cruel death. But what were those prisons to that of hell, in respect of which they may be esteemed as a paradise full of jessamine and lilies?

Whatsoever misery was to be suffered in Actiolinus's prison, was in this regard tolerable, because it was of no long continuance, being to last no longer than a short life, and quite vanishing away at the hour of death. But this prison of the damned is void of all comfort: the torments thereof are intolerable, because they are eternal. Death cannot enter in there, neither can those that are entered get out again; but they shall be tormented for evermore. What a fearful thing is this!—they shall be tormented for evermore.

If one were cast into some deep dungeon, without clothes, exposed to the inclemency of the cold and moisture of the place, where he should not see the light of heaven—should have nothing to feed on but once a day some little piece of hard barley-bread; and that he were to continue there six years without speaking to or seeing any body, and not to sleep on any other bed but the cold ground; what a misery were this! One week of that habitation would appear longer than a hundred years. Yet compare this with what shall be the banishment and prison of hell, and you shall find the miserable life of that man to be a happiness. There, in all his troubles, he should not meet with any to scoff at his misfortune, none to torment

and whip him; but in hell he shall find both; the devils shall not cease to deride, whip, and cruelly torment him. There should be no horrid sights, no fearful noises of howlings, groanings, and lamentations; in hell the eyes and ears of the damned shall never be free from such affrights: there should be no flames of fire to scorch him; in hell they shall burn into his bowels: there he might move and walk; in hell not stir a foot: there he may breathe the air without stink; in hell he shall suck in nothing but flames, stink, and sulphur: there he might hope for coming forth; in hell there is no redemption: there that little piece of hard bread would seem every day a dainty; but in hell, in millions of years, his eyes shall not behold a crumb of bread nor a drop of water, but shall eternally rage with hunger and a burning thirst. This is to be the calamity of that land of darkness.

O divine Eternity! O eternal Divinity! who hast in thy hands the extremities of the earth, and who keepest the keys of eternal life and death, I am in thy hands as clay in the hands of the potter. Dispose of me as thou pleasest. I love thee entirely; I cannot love thee more, if I had the whole universe to boot; for all that which is out of thee, my God, and is not God, is as nothing to me. I love not paradise itself, but because thou, my God, art there beloved. I know not how to love the paradise of God, but only the God of paradise: and I put no less rate on the Calvary where my Saviour was crucified, than the heaven where he is glorified. O my God, thou art he whom I seek for; to thee only it is that I aspire. Yet henceforth I will not so much love the eternity of God as the God of eternity, though it be the same eternity, and that same eternity be God himself; to whom be glory and honor for ever and ever. Amen.

Chap. VII.—*Of the slavery and pains eternal.*

The slavery of the damned in hell is such, that all their senses and powers of soul and body are subject unto eternal pains and torments. With their touch they are to serve that burning and never-consuming fire; with their taste, hunger and thirst; with their smell, stink; with their sight, those horrid and monstrous shapes which the devils shall assume; with their hearing, scorns

and affronts; with their imagination, horror; with their will, loathsomeness and detestation; with their memory, despair; with their understanding, confusion; with such a multitude of other punishments, as they shall want eyes to weep for them.

Ælian writes of Trizus the tyrant, that he commanded his subjects not to speak together; and when they used signs instead of words, he also forbade those: whereon the afflicted people met in the market-place, at least to weep for their misfortunes; but neither was that permitted. Greater shall be the rigor in hell, where they shall neither be suffered to speak a word of comfort, nor move hand or foot, nor ease their hearts with weeping. Jeremiah the prophet lamented, with floods of tears, that Jerusalem, which was the queen of nations, should be made a slave and tributary. What tears are sufficient to lament the damnation of a poor soul, who, from a heir and prince of the kingdom of heaven, hath made himself a slave to the devil, and those eternal punishments in hell, unto which he is to pay as many tributes as he hath senses, powers, and members?

As the slaves of the earth are whipped and punished by their masters, so the slaves of hell are tormented by the devils, who have power and dominion over them. Children, as slaves, are whipped and chastised by their masters; so the tormentors, making the damned as their slaves, lay on them a thousand afflictions, griefs, and miseries. Every member of their body shall suffer greater pain and torment than if it were torn from the body. If one cannot tell how to suffer a toothache, headache, or the pain of the colic, what will it be when there shall not be any joint, or the least part of the body, which shall not cause him an intolerable pain? not only the head or teeth, but also the breast, sides, shoulders, the back, the heart, and all the parts of the body, even to the very bones and marrow. Who can express the number and greatness of their torments, since all their powers and senses, soul and body, are to suffer in a most violent manner? Besides this, every sense, from its particular object, shall receive a particular punishment.

The eyes shall not only be grieved with a scorching heat, but shall be tormented with monstrous and horrible figures. Many are affrighted very much passing through a church-yard, only for fear of seeing a phantasm. In what a fright will be a mise-

rable damned soul, who shall see so many, and of so horrid shapes? Their sight also shall be tormented with beholding the punishment of their friends and kindred. Hegesippus writes, that Alexander, the son of Hyrcanus, resolving to punish certain persons with exemplary rigor, caused eight hundred to be crucified, and, whilst they were yet alive, caused their wives and children to be murdered before their eyes, so that they might die not one, but many deaths. This rigor shall not be wanting in hell, where fathers shall see their sons, and brothers their brothers, tormented. The torment of the eyes shall be also very great, in regard that those who have given others scandal, and made others fall into sin, shall see themselves, and those others, in that abyss of torments. To the sight of those dreadful apparitions shall be added the horror and fearful darkness of the place. The darkness of Egypt was said to be horrible, because there the Egyptians beheld fearful figures and phantasms, which terrified them. In the like manner, in that infernal darkness, the eyes shall be tormented with the monstrous figures of the wicked spirits, which shall appear much more dreadful by reason of the obscurity and sadness of that eternal night.

The hearing shall not only be afflicted by an intolerable pain, caused by that ever-burning and penetrating fire, but also with the fearful and amazing noises of thunders, howlings, clamors, groans, curses, and blasphemies. Sylla, being dictator, caused six thousand persons to be enclosed in the Circus, and then appointed the senate to meet in a temple close by, where he intended to speak unto them about his own affairs. To strike the greater terror into them, and make them know he was their master, he gave orders, that so soon as he began his oration, the soldiers should kill this multitude of people; which was effected: on which were heard such lamentations, outcries, groans, clashing of armor, and blows of those merciless homicides, that the senators could not hear a word, but stood amazed with terror of so horrid a fact. What shall be the harmony of hell, where the ears shall be deafened with the cries and complaints of the damned? What confusion and horror shall it breed, to hear all lament, all complain, all curse and blaspheme, through the bitterness of the torments which they suffer?

But the damned shall principally be affrighted, and shall quake to hear the thunder-clap of the wrath of God, which shall continually resound in their ears; 'whereas the just,' saith the royal prophet, 'shall be in the eternal memory of God, and shall not fear the dreadful crack of his wrath.'

The smell shall also be tormented with a most pestilential stink. Horrible was that torment used by Mezentius, to tie a living body to a dead, and there to leave them, until the infection and putrified exhalations of the dead had killed the living. What can be more abominable than for a living man to have his mouth laid close to that of a dead one, full of grubs and worms, where the living must receive all those pestilential vapors breathed forth from a corrupt carcass, and suffer such loathsomeness and abominable stink? But what is this in respect of hell, where each body of the damned is more loathsome and unsavory than a million of dead dogs, and all those pressed and crowded together in so strait a compass? Bonaventure goes so far as to say, that if one only of the damned were brought into this world, it were sufficient to infect the whole earth. Neither shall the devils send forth a better smell; for although they are spirits, yet those fiery bodies unto which they are fastened and confined shall be of a more pestilential savor.

Hell is the world's sink, and the receptacle of all the filth in this great frame, and withal a deep dungeon, where the air hath no access. How great must the stink and infection needs be of so many corruptions heaped one on another! and how insufferable the smell of that infernal brimstone, mixed with so many corrupted matters! O gulf of horror! O infernal grave, without vent or breathing-place! Eternal grave of such as die continually, and cannot die; with what abominable filth art thou not filled!

What shall I then say of the tongue, which is the instrument of so many ways of sinning, flattery, lying, murmuring and calumniating, gluttony and drunkenness? Who can express that bitterness which the damned shall suffer, greater than that of aloes or wormwood? The Scripture tells us, the gall of dragons shall be their wine; and they shall taste the poison of asps for all eternity, unto which shall be joined an intolerable thirst

and dog-like hunger. Conformably to which David said, 'They shall suffer hunger as dogs.' Famine is the most pressing of all necessities, and most deformed of all evils: plagues and wars are happiness in respect of it. If, then, a famine of eight days be the worst of temporal evils, what shall that famine be which is eternal? Let our epicures hear what the Son of God prophesies, 'Woe unto you who are full,'* for you shall be an hungered, and with such a hunger as shall be eternal. Hunger in this life doth bring men to such extremity, that not only they come to desire to eat dogs, cats, rats, and mice, but also mothers come to eat their own children, and men the flesh of their own arms, as it fell out to Zenon the emperor. If hunger be so terrible a mischief in this life, how will it afflict the damned in the other? Without all doubt, the damned would rather tear themselves in pieces than suffer it. All the most horrible famine that the Scripture historians propose unto us, are but weak pictures to that which the damned suffer in this unfortunate residence of eternal miseries. Neither shall thirst torment them less.

The sense of touching, as it is the most extended sense of all the rest, so shall it be the most tormented in that burning fire. All the torments which the Scripture doth exhibit to us as prepared for the reprobate, seem to fall on this only sense. 'They shall pass,' saith Job, 'from extremity of cold to intolerable heats,'—whole floods of fire and brimstone, which shower down on those unfortunate wretches. All this belongs unto the sense of touching. We are amazed to think of the inhumanity of Phalaris, who roasted men alive in his brazen bull. This was a joy in respect of that fire of hell, which penetrates the very entrails of the body without consuming them. The burning of a finger only does cause so great a torment, that it is insufferable; but far greater were it to burn the whole arm; and far greater were it, besides the arms, to burn the legs; and far more violent torment would it be to burn the whole body. This torment is so great, that it cannot be expressed, since it comprises as many torments as the body of man hath joints, sinews, arteries, &c., and especially being

* Luke vi. 25.

caused by that penetrating and real fire, of which this temporal fire is but a painted fire in respect of that in hell.

Amongst all the torments which human justice hath invented for the punishment of crimes, there is none held more rigorous than that of fire, by reason of the great activity of that element. What shall the heat of that fire be, which shall be the executioner of the justice of the God of vengeance, whose zeal shall be inflamed against the wicked, and shall kindle the fire which shall eternally burn in the extremities of hell? Such are the torments and miseries of hell, that if all the trees in the world were put in one heap, and set on fire, I would rather burn there till the day of judgment, than suffer, only for the space of one hour, that fire of hell. What a miserable unhappiness will it be to burn in those flames of hell, not only for an hour, but till the day of judgment; yea, even to all eternity, and world without end? Who would not esteem it a hideous torment, if he were to be burned alive a hundred times, and his torment was to last every time for the space of an hour? With what compassionate eyes would all the world look on such a miserable wretch! Nevertheless, without all doubt, any of the damned in hell would receive this as a great happiness, to end his torments with those hundred times burning: for what comparison is there betwixt a hundred hours burning, with some space of time betwixt every hour, and to burn a hundred years of continual torment? And what comparison will there be betwixt burning for a hundred years space, and to be burning without interruption, as long as God is God?

Who can express the strange and horrible confusion which shall inhabit the appetite of these wretched creatures? If all the disorders of man's life spring from his passions, what disorder must these miserable souls needs feel in that part—what convulsions, what rage, what fury! Alas! that noble passion, love, the queen of all the rest, the sun of life—that passion might have made them happy for ever, if they had turned it towards God. That amiable object being razed out of them, the perpetual aversion they have to love shall eternally afflict them; the passion of hatred shall be outrageous in the damned, whence shall proceed their continual blasphemies against God, and the perpetual curses and imprecations which they shall make against the creatures. And if they have any desires, they

shall be desirous to see all the world partaker of their pains. Their aversion from all good shall be as much tormenting, as in itself it is execrable. Of joy there must no mention be made in that place of dolor; but, contrariwise, of incredible sadness, which shall oppress them without any consolation. The heat of anger shall redouble the heat of their flames. Hope banished from their hearts shall leave the place void to despair, which shall be one of their fiercest torments; and though their bodies be within hell's bosom, yet shall they bear about them another hell in their own bosoms.

Consider, now, my soul, whether thou art able to live in this devouring fire—whether thou wilt make choice of thy habitation in eternal flames! This fire is prepared for the devil and his angels. Consider whether thou wilt enter into this cursed crew, and take part of the dregs of their chalice. There is no medium: either thou must forsake thy sins, or else thou must be given up a prey to this eternal torment. I doubt not thou wilt make a happy choice, and, to escape so dangerous a gulf, cast thyself into the arms of Divine mercy, which only admits the penitent, and say thus: "O great God, who art a consuming fire, and makest the fire of thy divine justice issue from amongst the thorns to burn the tallest cedars in Lebanon; let the fire, which walks before thee as executioner of thy justice, never depart from our memory; may it be unto us a pillar of light in the darkness of our errors, a lamp unto our feet, and a lantern to our ways, whereby we may discover this infernal gulf, which is ready to swallow us up. Thou, O Lord, who didst deliver the three children out of the Babylonian furnace, preserve us from those eternal flames, and exempt us from the burning ones of thy wrath: place us in the light and bright one of thy love, where, like pyratides and sacred salamanders, we shall live happy without pain or torment, singing honor, praise, and benediction unto thee, our God, for ever and ever." Amen.

CHAP. VIII.—*The pains of the powers of a damned soul.*

The imagination shall afflict those miserable offenders, increasing the pains of the senses by the liveliness of its apprehension. If in this life the imagination is sometimes so vehement that it hurts more than real evils, in the other the torment which it causes will be excessive. Baptista Fulgosus recounts,

as an eye-witness, that being a judge in a duel, one of the competitors made the other fly, but instantly fell down dead himself, without any other cause than an imagination that he was hurt to death; for he neither received wound or blow, neither was the sign of any found on his dead body. If in this life the imagination be so powerful in men who are in health, as to cause a sense of pain where none hurts; grief, where none molests; and death, where none kills; what shall it be in hell, where so many devils punish and afflict with torments, preserving only life, that the pain of death may live eternally? And if we see some timorous people, with an imaginary fear, tremble and remain half-dead, there is no doubt but the imagination of those miserable persons, joined with the horror of the place where they are, will cause a thousand pains and torments.

Frame a judgment of it by that which happens to such as in this life, finding themselves guilty of grievous crimes, fear to fall into temporal justice. They may, indeed, sometimes be in a secure place, but never in security; they may be hid from the eyes of men, and be placed out of their reach; but never shall they be able to hide themselves from themselves, or escape the assault of their own consciences. While they wake, they are tortured with fears and suspicions; their sleep is interrupted with wicked dreams; dread doth still follow them; at each one's approach they quake with fear, and the furies, having seized on them, grant them neither peace nor truce; their troubled thoughts put their hearts on the rack. Now, if the apprehension of human justice, which hath power only over the body, gives so dreadful alarms to the imagination; what will the sense of the darts of the divine justice do, which are so many instruments of death, and burning arrows shot at the damned souls?

The will shall be tormented with an eternal abhorring and rage against itself, against all creatures, and against God, the Creator of all; and shall, with an intolerable sadness, anger, grief, and disorder of all the affections, violently desire things impossible, and despair of all that is good. If joy consists in the possession of what one loves, and pain in the want of that which is desired, and being necessitated to what is abhorred; what greater pain and torment, than to be ever desiring what

shall never be enjoyed, and ever abhorring that which we can never be quit of? That which he desires, he shall never obtain; and what he desires not, eternally suffer. And from hence shall spring that raging fury which David speaks of, 'The sinner shall see, and be raging; he shall gnash his teeth, and be consumed.' This rage and madness shall be increased by the despair which shall be joined unto it, which must needs be most terrible unto the damned: for as the greatest evil is eased by hope, so the least is made grievous by despair. Hope in affliction is supported by two things; one is the fruit which may result from suffering; the other is, the end and conclusion of the evil suffered. But in regard the despair of the damned is of such great evils, the despair itself will be a most horrible one.

If one suffers and reaps fruit by it, it is a comfort unto him, and the grief is recompensed by the joy of the benefit thereof; but when the suffering is without fruit or profits, then it comes to be heavy indeed. The hope of a good harvest makes the laborer with cheerfulness endure the toil of ploughing and sowing; but if he were certain to reap no profit, every pace he moved would be grievous and irksome unto him. Though in temporal afflictions this hope of recompense should fail, yet the hope that they should sometimes cease and have an end, would afford some comfort and ease unto the sufferers. But in hell both these are wanting: the damned shall never receive reward for their sufferings, nor shall their torments ever have an end.

Oh! let us consider how great a recompense attends the least of our sufferings here in God's service; and how vain and unprofitable shall all our sufferings be hereafter. Here some few penitent ejaculations may gain eternal glories; there the most intense pains and torments, both in soul and body, cannot deserve a drop of cold water, nor so much ease as to turn from one side to the other. In this raging despair, and the vain hopes of sinners, hell is full of those who hoped they should never enter into it, and full of those who despair of getting out of it. They offended with a presumptuous hope they should not die in sin, and that proving false, are fallen into eternal desperation. There is no hope can excuse the falling into so great a danger. Let us therefore secure heaven, and not sin.

The memory shall be another cruel torment of those miserable sinners, converting all they have done, good or bad, into torments; the good, because they have lost their reward;—the bad, because they have deserved their punishment. The delights, also, which they have enjoyed, and all the happiness of this life, in which they have triumphed, (seeing that for them they fell into this misery) shall be a sharp sword which shall pierce their hearts. They shall be full of affliction when they shall compare the shortness of their past pleasures with the eternity of their present torment. What groans, what sighs, will they pour out, when they see that those delights hardly lasted an instant, and that the pains they suffer for them shall last for ages and eternities—all that is past appearing but as a dream! Let us tremble at the pleasures and felicities of this life, since they may turn into arsenic or wormwood. The miserable wretch shall with great grief remember how often he might have gained heaven, and did not, but is now tumbled into hell; and shall say unto himself, How many times might I have prayed, but spent that time in play, and now I pay for it! How many times ought I to have fasted, and left it to satisfy my greedy appetite! How many times might I have given alms, and spent it in sin! How many times might I have pardoned my enemies, and chose rather to be revenged! How many times might I have frequented the sacraments, and forbore them, because I would not quit the occasion of sinning! There never wanted means of serving God, but I never made use of them, and am therefore justly paid for all. Behold, wretched soul, that, in entertaining thyself in pleasures, thou hast for toys and fooleries lost heaven! If thou wouldst, thou mightest have been a companion for angels; if thou wouldst, thou mightest have been in eternal joy; and thou hast left all for the pleasure of a moment. "O accursed and miserable creature! thy Redeemer courted thee with heaven, and thou despisedst him for a base trifle. This was thy fault, and now thou sufferest for it; and since thou wouldst not be happy with God, thou shalt now be eternally cursed by him and his angels."

The understanding shall torment itself with discourses of great bitterness, discoursing of nothing but what may grieve it. Aristotle shall not then take delight in his wisdom, nor Seneca

comfort himself with his philosophy; Galen shall find no remedy in his physic, nor the profoundest scholar in his divinity.

Besides these miseries and calamities, in this power of the soul is engendered the worm of conscience, which is so often proposed unto us in holy Scripture as a most terrible torment, and greater than that of fire. Only in one sermon Christ our Redeemer three times menaces us with 'that worm,' which gnaws the consciences, and tears in pieces the hearts of the damned; admonishing us often 'that their worm shall never die, nor their fire be quenched.' For as the worm which breeds in dead flesh, or that which breeds in woods, eats and gnaws that substance of which they are engendered; so the worm which is bred from sin, is in perpetual enmity with it, gnawing and devouring the heart of the sinner with raging and desperate grief, still putting him in mind, that by his own fault he lost that eternal glory which he might so easily have obtained, and is now fallen into eternal torments, from which there is no redemption. And certainly this resentment of the loss of heaven shall more torment him than the fire of hell. It is a hell in hell, worse than a thousand hells.

Certainly it were a great rigor if a father should be forced to be present at the execution of his son, but more if he should be compelled to be the hangman; and yet greater if the gallows should be placed before his own door, so that he could neither go in nor out without beholding the affront; but far greater cruelty, if they should make the guilty person to execute himself, and that by cutting his body in pieces, member after member, or tearing off his flesh with his own teeth. This is the cruelty and torment of an evil conscience, with which a sinner is racked and tortured amongst those eternal flames, not being able to banish his faults from his memory, nor their punishment from his thoughts. The envy also which they shall bear towards those who have gained heaven by as small matters as they have lost it, shall much add to their grief. Those who are hungry, if they see others, meaner than they, feed at some splendid and plentiful table, and cannot be admitted themselves, become more hungry. So shall it be with the damned, who shall be more afflicted by beholding others, sometimes less than themselves, enjoy that eternal happiness, which they, through want

of care, are deprived of. What lamentations shall the damned send forth, when they shall see that the just have gained the benediction of God, and that they lost it through their own neglect!

After all this, there shall not want in hell the pains of death, which amongst human punishments is the greatest. That of hell is a living death. The death which men give, together with death, takes away the pain and sense of dying; but the eternal death of sinners is with sense, and by so much greater, as it hath more of life, recollecting within itself the worst of dying, which is to perish; and the most intolerable of life, which is to suffer pain. In hell there shall be unto the miserable a death without death, and an end without end; for their death shall ever live, and their end shall never begin.

See how the rack compels them at length to confess the truth. What hath pride profited us? What advantage have we gotten by the vanity of riches? All that is past as a shadow. As a ship sailing on the sea under full sails, leaving behind her no marks of her passage; as a bird flying in the air, whose trace is not found; so have our days run by, without having any mark of virtue. We have spent in malice all the time which was liberally bestowed on us to 'work out our salvation with fear and trembling;' we have passed the course of our age in appearances, and in the vanities and follies of the world, and in an instant we are fallen into hell. In this sort do those wretches, gnawn with a continual sorrow, unprofitably repent themselves, and groan under that pressure and affliction of heart, which is the hell of their hell.

Even here among us, if there should be a condition in which we might be sensible but of some part of that which death brings along with it, it would be esteemed a greater evil than death itself. Who doubts, but if one, after burial, should find mself alive and sensible under the earth, where he could speak with nobody, see nothing but darkness, hear nothing but those who walk above him, smell nothing but the rotten stink of their bodies, eat nothing but his own flesh, nor feel any thing but the earth which oppresses him, or the cold pavement of the vault where he lay;—who doubts not, I say, but that this estate were worse than to be wholly dead, since life only served to feel the

pain of death? What sepulchre is more terrible than that of hell, which is eternally shut on those who are in it; where the miserable damned remain, not only under the earth, but under fire, having sense for nothing but to feel death, darkness, and pain? This death of hell may be called a double death, in respect it contains both the death of sin and the death of pain; those unfortunate wretches standing condemned, never to be freed from the death of sin, and for ever to be tormented with death of pain. There is no greater death than that of the soul, which is sin, in which the miserable are to continue whilst God is God, with that infinite evil and that ugly deformity which sin draws along with it, which is worse than to suffer that eternal fire, which is but the punishment of it. After sin, what pain should there be greater than that of sin itself? Who trembles not with the only memory that he is to die, remembering that he is to cease to be;—that the feet whereon he walks are no more to bear him,—that his hands are no more to serve him, nor his eyes to see? Why, then, do we not tremble at the thought of hell, in respect of which the first death is no punishment, but a reward and happiness, there being no damned in hell but would take that death, which we here inflict for offences, as an ease of his pains? They shall desire death, and death shall fly from them; for unto all their evils and miseries, this, as the greatest, is joined, that neither they nor it shall ever die. This circumstance of being eternal doth much augment the torments of hell. Let us suppose that one had but a gnat that should sting his right hand, and a wasp at the left, and that one foot should be pricked with a thorn, and the other with a pin; if this only were to last for ever, it would be an intolerable pain. What will it then be, when hands, feet, arms, head, and all the members, are to burn for all eternity? They shall always burn, but never be consumed; they shall seek for death in the flames, but shall not find it. Therefore justly doth one cry out, O wo eternal, that never shall have end! O end without end! O death more grievous than all death; always to die, and never to be quite dead!

The torments in hell are so many in number, that they cannot be numbered; so long in continuance, that they cannot be measured; so grievous in quality, that they cannot be endured, but

with such infinite pain, that every minute of an hour shall seem a whole year. 'O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chastise me in thy displeasure. Unless thou wilt have mercy, O God, I must needs perish.' In this life we have hope of our comforter in all distresses, which hath a sovereign virtue to mitigate all pains and sorrows; and God, of his great mercy, for the most part, in all adversities, still leaveth a man some hope of help and succor. The sick man, as long as he lives, still lives in hope. As long as there is life, there is hope. But, after this life ended, there remaineth to the damned no more hope of any comfort. Hope, the last comforter of all, taketh her flight, and eternal desperation seizeth on men.

If an angel should promise thee to be made an emperor, so you would lie in your bed one night in the same posture, looking upwards towards heaven, without moving or turning yourself all night; if you have a mind to turn on one side, it will be a trouble to you not to do it, and you will persuade yourself that you never lay so uneasy in your whole life before; and will say unto yourself, "My bed is good and soft; I am well: what is wanting to me? Nothing is wanting, but only to turn me from one side to the other. How comes this to pass, that thou canst not rest one single night?" It being such a torture to be still without turning thyself, what would it be, if thou wert to remain in one posture three or four nights? Thou hast little patience, since a thing so small doth grieve thee. What would it be if thou hadst the cholic, or wert tormented with the stone or sciatica? Far greater evils than these are prepared for thee in hell, whither thou postest by running into so many sins. Consider what a couch is prepared for thee in that abyss of misery, what feather bed, what Holland sheets! Thou shalt be cast on burning coals; flames and sulphur shall be thy coverlets. Mark well whether this bed be for one night only; yea, nights, days, months, and years, for ages and eternities, thou art to remain on that side thou fallest on, without having the least relief to turn thyself unto the other. That fire shall never die; neither shalt thou ever die, to the end its torments may last eternally. After a hundred years, and after a hundred thousand millions of years, they shall be as lively and as vigorous as at the first day. See what thou doest by not fearing

eternal death, by making no account of eternity. By setting so much of thy affection on a temporal life, thou dost not walk the right way. Change thy life, and begin to serve thy Creator.

Blessed Lord, eternal God, my heart is naked and open before thee. I send up my sighs as humble orators before thee. I know not what to ask, nor how; only this one thing I beg at thy hands, that thou wilt not suffer me to die an eternal death. Correct me here as thy child, that I may be saved hereafter. Lord, thou knowest that I love thee, and that I desire to be with thee, that I may sing eternal praises unto thee. Lord, have mercy upon me, and grant me my request, for thy great mercy's sake.

CHAP. IX.—*The fruit which may be drawn from the consideration of eternal evils.*

All that hath been said of the pains in hell is far short of that which they really are. There is a great difference betwixt the knowlege we have by relation, and that which we learn by experience. The Maccabees knew that the temple of the Lord was already profaned and destroyed; they had heard of it, and lamented it; but when they saw with their eyes the sanctuary lie desolate, the altar profaned, and the gates burned, there was then no measure of their tears: they tore their garments, cast ashes on their heads, threw themselves on the ground, and their complaints ascended as high as heaven. If, then, the relation and discourse of the pains of hell make us tremble, what shall be the sight and experience? The consideration of what has been said may help us to form some conception of the terror and horror of that place of eternal sorrow. Let us descend into hell whilst we live, that we may not descend there when we are dead: let us draw some fruit from thence during our lives, seeing that nothing but torment is to be had after death.

The principal fruits which may be drawn from that consideration, are these:—In the first place, an ardent love and sincere gratitude towards our Creator, that, having so often deserved hell, he hath not yet suffered us to fall into it. How many be there now in hell, who, for their first mortal sin, and only for that one, have been sent thither! and we, notwithstanding

the innumerable sins which we have committed, are yet spared. What did God find in us, that he should use a mercy towards us for so many sins, which he did not afford to others for so few? Why are we not, then, more grateful for so many benefits, which we have no ways deserved? How grateful would a damned person be, if God should free him from those flames wherein he is tormented, and place him in the same condition we now are! What a life would that man lead, and how grateful would he be unto so merciful a Benefactor! He hath done no less for us, but much more; for if he hath not drawn us out of hell, he hath not thrown us into it, as we deserved, which is the greater favor. Tell me, if a creditor should cast that debtor into prison who owed him a thousand ducats, and, after the enduring of much affliction, at last release him; or should suffer another who owed him fifty thousand ducats to go up and down free, without touching a thread of his garment; which of the debtors received the greater benefit? I believe thou wilt say the latter. More, then, are we indebted to God Almighty, and therefore ought to serve him better. Consider how a man would live, who should be restored to life after he had been in hell. Thou shouldst live better, since thou art more indebted to Almighty God.

Secondly, we are taught to exercise our patience in suffering the afflictions and troubles of this life, that, by enduring these thankfully, we may escape those of the other. He who shall consider the eternity of those torments which he deserves, will not be troubled at the pains of this life, how bitter soever. There is no state or condition on earth, how miserable soever, which the damned would not endure, and think it an infinite happiness if they might exchange for it; neither is there any course of life so unhappy, which he, who had once experienced those burning flames, if he might live again, would not willingly undergo. He who hath once deserved eternal torments, let him never murmur against the crosses and petty injuries offered him in this life. If thou goest into a bath, and shalt find it excessive hot, think on hell. If thou art tormented with the heat of some violent fever, pass unto the consideration of those eternal flames which burn without end; and think, if a bath or calenture so afflict, how shalt thou endure that river of

fire. When thou shalt see any thing great in this present life, think presently of the kingdom of heaven, and so thou shalt not value it much; and when thou shalt see any thing terrible, think on hell, and thou wilt not be much moved. When the desire of any temporal thing shall afflict thee, think that the pleasure of it is of no estimation. If the fear of laws which are enacted here on earth, be of such force that they are able to deter us from evil actions, much more ought the thoughts of eternal pain affright us. If we often think of hell, we shall never fall into it.

We ought often to call to mind the evils of the next life, that we may the more despise the pleasures of this; because temporal felicity uses often to end in eternal misery. All that is precious in this world, honor, wealth, fame, pleasure—all the splendor of the earth, is but a shadow, if we compare the small duration of them with the eternity of those torments in the other world.

Put all the silver in the world together in one heap, all the gold, all the precious stones, diamonds, emeralds, with all other the richest jewels, all the triumphs of the Romans, all the rarities and dainties of the Assyrians, &c., all would deserve to be of no other value than dirt, if to be possessed with hazard of falling at last into the pit of hell. Let us call to mind that sentence of our blessed Saviour, 'What will it avail a man to gain the world, if he lose his soul?' If they should make us lords and masters, I say, not of great wealth, but of the whole world, we should not admit of it with the least hazard of being damned for ever. Let one enjoy all the contents and regales imaginable; let him be raised to the highest pitch of honor; let him triumph with all the greatness in the world;—all this is but a dream, if, after this mortal life, he finds himself at length plunged into hell-fire.

You may look on a wheel of squibs and fire-works, which, whilst it moves, casts forth a thousand lights and splendors, with which the beholders are much taken, but at last all ends in a little smoke and burnt paper. So it is whilst the wheel of felicities was in motion, according to the style of St. James; that is to say, whilst our life lasts, its fortune and prosperity appears most glorious; but ceasing, all comes to end in smoke;

and he that fares best in it, at last finds himself plunged into hell.

When a fever, or some great unexpected change in a man's estate, happens to him, it makes him forget all his former contents in health and wealth, his sickness and adversity so taking up the whole man, that he hath no leisure to employ his thoughts on any thing else; and if, perhaps, any passage of his former condition chance to come to his mind, it gives him no satisfaction, but rather augments his pain. Wherefore, if temporal evils, though very short, are sufficient to make former felicities of many years vanish; what impression will temporal goods make on us, if we employ our thoughts on eternal evils? Besides, those torments which are to be suffered hereafter without profit, may move us to husband the short time of this life most to our advantage. How many miserable souls now suffer those eternal pains, for not employing one day in the service of God! What would a damned soul give for one quarter of an hour out of so many days and years which are lost, and shall not have one instant allowed him! Thou, who now livest and hast time, lose not that which imports thee so much, and once lost can never be recovered. O miserable creatures, who, for having lost a short space of time, lose an eternity of felicity! They come to know, too late, the importance of that which they have lost, and shall never come to regain it. Let us now make use of that time, whilst we may gain eternity; and let us not lose that with pleasure, which cannot be recovered with grief.

Lastly, let us draw, from the consideration of hell, a perfect hatred to all mortal sin, since from the evil of sin proceeds the evil of pain. Terrible is the evil of sin, since it cannot be satisfied even with eternal flames.

CHAP. X.—*The infinite guilt of mortal sin, by which we lose the felicity of heaven, and fall into eternal evils.*

So foul and horrid is a mortal sin in its own nature, that though it passed only in thought, and none knew it but God and he who committed it, and which endured no longer than an instant, yet it deserves the torments of hell to all eternity: for by how much greater is the majesty of God, which is despised, by so much greater is the injury offered him; and,

therefore, as the majesty of God, which is despised by sin, is infinite, so the despite of it must contain in itself a certain kind of infinity. By how much greater is the reverence due to a person, by so much greater is the disrespect and affront offered him: and as to God there is due an infinite reverence, so the injury done him is of an inexplicable malice, which, by no good works of a mere creature, how many and great soever, can be expiated. So great is the malignity of a mortal sin, that, being put into the balance of divine justice, it would outweigh the good works of all the saints, although they were a thousand times more and greater than they are; because the good works with which God is honored by his saints, although in themselves great in value; yet, in respect of God, unto whom they add nothing, and who is nothing bettered by them, they are not valuable; unto whose divine goodness, not only they, but infinitely more and greater, are but a debt. But for God to be despised by his creature, who by infinite titles is obliged to serve him, and ought to reverence him with an infinite honor, is a thing so highly repugnant to his majesty, that if God were capable of grief, it would more afflict him, than all the pious actions of the saints content him. Certainly, amongst men, the honor which is given to one who deserves it, takes not so much as a contempt done unto him who merits it not. A king values not much the honor which is given him by his vassals, because he takes it not for a courtesy, but a duty; but to be affronted and scorned, especially by one whom he had favored with his benefits, sticks near his heart: for not only kings, but all men, think honor due unto them, and disrespect an injury. There is no resentment among men so quick as that of dishonor, nor any thing which causes more grief and vexation. If some person of quality should have his hat plucked off from his head in scorn, and receive a dozen of bastinados from some base fellow, that affront would not be recompensed, although a thousand should put off their caps to him, and kiss his hand.

By this may appear the irreverence and great incivility towards God in a mortal sin; insomuch that St. Paul calls it 'kicking or spurning the Son of God.' This is the reason why it was necessary that God should become man, seeing that divine justice could not be appeased with less than the satis-

faction of a divine person. Let those, therefore, cease to marvel that a momentary sin should be punished with eternal torments, who see that for sin God was made man, and died for man; and certainly it is a far greater wonder that God should die for the sin of another, than that man should for his own sin suffer an eternal punishment. If the malice of sin be so exorbitant that nothing could satisfy for it less than God, it is nothing strange that that which hath no limit or bound in evil, should have no limit in punishment, but should exceed all time, and be eternal. And if a treason committed against a temporal prince be chastised with loss of life and goods of the traitor, and with the punishment also of his posterity, which, inasmuch as concerns the prince, is eternal; why should not the offence of a vile worm against his Creator be tormented with eternal pains? The greatness of honor decreases and grows less, according to the height and dignity of the person honored; so as that honor which, done to an ordinary person, would seem excessive, given unto a prince is nothing; and, on the contrary, the greatness of an injury rises and grows higher according to the worth of him who is injured. So that God, who is infinite, being the person offended, requires that the injury done unto him should be chastised with a punishment equal to the duration of his being, and needs that he who satisfies for it should be a person of infinite worth and perfection, voluntarily undertaking to put himself into the sinner's place, and to suffer in his stead.

As sin is grievous in its own nature, so it is much aggravated by the circumstances which attend it. Let us consider who it is that sins. It is a most vile and wretched man, who presumes to lift up his hands against his Creator. And what is man, but a vessel of dung, a stink of corruption, and by birth a slave of the devil? and yet he dares offend his Maker. An offence against God were most grievous, though from another god (if it were possible) infinite and equal to itself; but that the creature should be so insolent against his omnipotent Lord, is beyond amazement. But what is that which a sinner does when he offends? It is, according to St. Anselm, an endeavor to pluck the crown from the head of God, and place it on his own. It is, according to the Apostle, to 'crucify again the

Lord of life.' If any of these things were attempted against a majesty on earth, it were enough to make the offender's flesh to be plucked off with pincers—to have him torn in pieces with wild horses—to pull down his house, and sow the place with salt, and make his whole lineage infamous. If such an offence were committed by one man against another, betwixt whom the difference is not great, being both equal in nature, it were very heinous. What shall it deserve, being committed against God, the Lord and Creator of all, whose immense greatness is infinitely distant from the nature of his creature? O good God! who is able to express what a sinner doth against thee and himself? He despises thy majesty, razes out thy law from his heart, contemns thy justice, scorns thy threats, despises thy promises, makes a solemn renunciation of the glory thou hast promised him; and all to bind himself an eternal slave to Satan, desiring rather to please thine enemy than thee, who art his Father, his Friend, and all his good; desiring rather to die eternally by displeasing thee, than to enjoy heaven for ever by serving thee.

Let us now see where, and in what place, a sinner presumes to sin, and be a traitor unto God. It is even in his own world, in his own house, and knowing that his Creator looks on him, he offends him. If a sin were committed where God could not see it, it were yet an enormous fault; but to do an injury to his Creator before his face, what an unspeakable impudence is it! If he who sins could go into another world, where God did not inhabit, and there, in secret under the earth, should sin after such a manner as only himself should know it, yet it were a great boldness; but to sin in his own house, which is this world, what hell doth it not deserve? For a man only to lay his hand on his sword in the palace of a king is capital, and deserves death. For a sinner, then, by his sins to spurn and crucify the Son of God in the house of his Father, and before his face, what understanding can conceive the greatness of such a malice? And therefore David with reason dissolved himself into tears, because he had sinned in the presence of God, and, with a grief which pierced his heart, cried out, 'I have done evil before thee.' Besides this, we not only sin against God in his own house, but even in his arms, whilst we are upheld

by his omnipotency. If there were a son so wicked, who, whilst he was cherished in his mother's bosom, should strike her, and endeavor to kill her, every one would think that a most impious child. How, then, dares man offend God, who sustains, preserves, and hath redeemed him?

The heinousness of this malice in sin is much augmented by the helps which a sinner uses to effect it; for he turns those very divine benefits which he hath received from God, against him who gave them. The sense which men usually have of ingratitude is most apprehensive. If to forget a benefit be ingratitude, to despise it is an injury; but to use it against the benefactor, I know not what to call it. This does he who sins, making use of those creatures which God created for his service, to offend him; and converts his divine benefits into arms against God himself. What would we say, if a king, to honor his soldier, should make him a knight, arm him with his own arms, should gird his sword about him with his own hands; and that the soldier, so soon as he was possessed of the sword, should draw it against the king, and murder him? This wickedness, which seems impossible amongst men, is ordinary in man towards God, who, being honored so many ways by his Creator, and enriched with so many benefits, as much as in him lies bereaves God of his honor, and desires to bereave him of his life. His understanding, which he received from God, he uses in finding out a way to execute his sin; with his hands he performs it; and with all his power offends him who gave them.

But if we consider why man does this, it is a circumstance which will amaze us at the malice of it. Why doth a sinner thus offend against his God? Wherefore is he a traitor unto the Lord of the world? Wherefore doth he abhor his Redeemer? What reason hath he for so monstrous a wickedness? It is only for a base and filthy pleasure, for a foolish fancy of man, because he will, and no more. O horrid insolence! O mad fury of men, who, without a cause, so grievously offend their Creator, and by their sins provoke so good and gracious a God!

The manner also of our sinning would astonish any who should seriously consider it. It is with so much impudence, pride, and contempt of God; after having heard so many examples of his chastisements executed on sinners; after ha-

ving seen that the most beautiful and glorious of all the angels, and with him innumerable others, were thrown from heaven, and made firebrands in hell for one sin, and that only in thought; after having seen the first man, for one sin, banished from the paradise of pleasure into this valley of tears, despoiled of so many supernatural endowments, and condemned to die; after having known that so many have been damned for their offences; after the Son of God had suffered on the cross for our sins;—after all this, to sin, is an impudence never heard of, and an intolerable contempt of the divine justice.

Besides, what greater scorn and contempt of God than this! that God, who is worthy of all honor and love, and the devil, who is our professed enemy, pretending both to our souls, the one to save them, the other to torment them in eternal flames;—yet we adhere to Satan, and prefer him before Christ our Saviour and Redeemer, and that so much to our prejudice as by the loss of eternal glory, and precipitating ourselves into eternal torments and slavery? The manner also of sinning aggravates the sin, as the sinner doth, by losing thereby eternal happiness. Though he who sins much lost nothing, yet the offences against God were great. But well knowing the great damages and punishments likewise that attend sin, and the evident hazard he runs, and yet to sin, is strange impudence. If we shall consider when it is that we sin, we shall find this circumstance no less to aggravate our offences than the former; because we now sin, when we know that the Son of God was nailed unto the cross, that we should not sin; when we know that God was incarnate for us, humbled himself to be made man, and subjected himself unto death, even the death of the cross, for our redemption. To sin after we had seen God so good and obliging unto us, with those not to be imagined favors, is a circumstance which ought much to be pondered in our hearts, and might make us forbear the offending of so loving a Father. And that Christian who sins after all this, is to be esteemed worse than a devil; for the devil never sinned against that God who had shed his blood for him, or who had pardoned so much as one sin of his. When those sinned who were under the law of nature, they had not seen the Son of God die for their salvation, as a Christian hath; and there is no doubt but Christians will deserve new torments,

and greater than those who have not had the knowlege of God, nor received so many benefits from him.

Let us consider about what sin is committed, and we do offend God. It is about complying with a sensual gust, which in the end bereaves us of health, of honor, of substance, and even of pleasure itself; suffering many days of grief for a moment's delight; about things of the earth, which are vile and transitory; and about goods of the world, which are false, short, and deceitful. What would we say, if, for a thing of so small value as a straw, one man should kill another? No more than a straw are all the felicities of the world in respect of those of heaven; and, for a thing of so small consideration, we are traitors to God, and crucify Christ again; and that a thousand times, as often as we sin mortally against him.

Lastly, consider whom we offend. It is God, who is most perfect, most wise, immense, omnipotent, and infinite. We sin against him who infinitely loves us, who suffers us, who heaps his benefits and rewards on us. To do evil to those who make much of them, even wild beasts abhor it. What! is it then for thee to injure him who loved thee more than himself; who hath done thee all good, that thou shouldst do no evil? Fear, then, this Lord; reverence his majesty, love his goodness, and offend him no more. Sin is so evil, that it is every way evil. Behold it on every side, it still seems worse. It is not only evil as it is an injury to God, but it is evil in itself in its own nature; for if there were no God, or that God were not offended with it, yet it were a most horrid evil, the greatest of all evils, and the cause of all evils. In regard of this deformity and filthiness of sin, the philosophers judged it to be abhorred above all things; and those who denied the immortality of the soul and the providence of God, affirmed that nothing should make them commit it; and there have been some amongst them who have suffered great extremities to avoid a vicious act. Damocles, as Plutarch writes, chose rather to be boiled in scalding water, than to consent to a filthy act. For this reason is Hippo celebrated amongst the Greek matrons, who chose rather to die than offend. These were Gentiles, who saw not hell open for the punishment of sinners, because it was an offence unto God; but only for the enormity and filthiness it had in itself. This

made them endure prisons and tortures rather than admit it. What should Christians then do, who know how much sin is offensive to God? Certainly they ought rather to give a thousand lives, than once to injure their Creator by committing an offence, which not only Gentiles, but even nature, hold in horror; which hath planted in brute beasts, although they cannot sin, a natural aversion from that which looks like sin.

Pliny admires the force of lightning, which melts the gold and silver, and leaves the purse which contains it untouched. Such is sin, which kills the soul, and leaves the body sound and active. It is a flash of lightning sent from hell, and such leaves the soul which it hath blasted.

Sin, though it were the best thing in the world, yet, for the evil effects it produces, it ought to be avoided more than death. It bereaves the soul of grace, banishes the Holy Ghost, deprives it of the right of heaven, makes a sinner unworthy of divine protection, and condemns him unto eternal torments in the other world, and in this to many disasters; for there is neither plague, war, famine, nor infirmity of body, whereof sin hath not been in some sort the occasion: and, therefore, those that weep for their afflictions, let them change the object of their tears, and weep for the cause, which is their sin.

I will therefore from henceforth resolve, that although I were certain that men should not know my sins, and that God would pardon them, yet I will not offend for the very filthiness of sin.

END OF VOL. IV.

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